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Geneva Arms Negotiator Expresses 'Positive View'

LD2508112189 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Yuriy Nazarkin, leader of the Soviet delegation to the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, has expressed a positive view of the results of their 11th round.

Meeting heads of diplomatic missions to the Soviet Union here today, he said the negotiations concentrated on outstanding problems, primarily the issue of compliance with the ABM treaty, as signed in 1972, and a commitment not to withdraw from it for an agreed time.

Nazarkin regretted the fact that no substantial progress was made towards resolving this issue. He described sea-launched Cruise missiles as another sticking point.

The latest round of the talks also discussed mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles and although the American delegation has not yet given an official reply to Soviet proposals on how to verify their limitation, it showed an interest in them, he continued.

Much attention was also paid to other verification issues and some headway was made in this respect, the Soviet diplomat added.

The two delegations managed to go further than a simple adjustment of their positions, they also demonstrated continuity in their work and moved ahead in hammering out draft documents on strategic offensive systems, Nazarkin went on.

He expressed satisfaction with the contacts with his U.S. counterparts. "We hope that the atmosphere of business-like cooperation in Geneva will persist, enabling us to make further progress," he said.

East Europe Conventional Force Cuts Noted

LD2608162189 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Recorded interview with Colonel-General Valentin Pankin of the Soviet Air Force's General Staff, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Another Soviet Air Force regiment stationed in Poland is said to have been disbanded as part of Soviet-announced unilateral cuts in conventional forces. Out of a total of 800 aircraft to come under planned cuts more than 500 have been nearly withdrawn ahead of this year's schedule. Colonel-General Valentin Pankin of the Soviet Air Force's General Staff explains:

[Begin recording] [Pankin in Russian with superimposed English translation] The Air Force group stationed in Eastern Europe is being reduced by more than 20 regiments including their logistic support. Most of the combat hardware will be taken apart and scrapped. Part of it is to be used for training or as flying targets while a fraction will be mothballed. The bulk of the airmen are to be demobilized. How large are these cuts? In sheer numbers Soviet reductions may well compare with tactical air force, air defences, and navies of countries such as France or West Germany.

[Correspondent in Russian with superimposed English translation] To what extent can the ongoing cuts affect the number of Soviet troops and aircraft deployed in the East?

[Pankin] The Soviet forces deployed in the country's Asian part are to be reduced by 200,000 troops including the Air Force units. Air Force units withdrawn from Monogolia are being disbanded. Likewise, a number of similar units stationed in the Soviet Far East and the country's south is being reduced and disbanded. The General said his country was doing its utmost to convert Asia as well into a zone of stability, security and peace. [end recording]

Gremitskikh Conducts 25 Aug News Briefing

Denies Cruiser Deployment to Lebanon

LD2508135189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—There are no Soviet naval vessels near the coast of Lebanon, according to Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, at a briefing here today. He said this in reference to information received from the main headquarters of the USSR Navy.

Responding to conjectures that have appeared in certain Western media that the Soviet guided missile cruiser "Kirov" has departed Odessa for the shores of Lebanon, Yuriy Gremitskikh pointed out that the Soviet port town of Odessa is not a naval base and, therefore, naval vessels cannot sail from there. The guided missile cruiser "Kirov" is registered in Severomorsk (Kola Peninsula) and is there now; no Soviet military vessels at all are traveling towards the shores of Lebanon.

Praises Polish Premier Statement

LD2508132589 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The Soviet Union received with satisfaction the statement by new Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the position of the future Polish Government in the field of Soviet-Polish relations, Poland's participation in the Warsaw Treaty organisation and the CEMA. This comment was made at today's briefing by Yuriy Gremitskikh, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Commenting on Mazowiecki's speech yesterday at Sejm, he said, "The sensible and constructive approach by the head of the Polish Government to these issues, which have paramount significance for the peoples of the two countries, concides with our wishes."

Notes GDR-FRG Refugee Problem

LD2508144589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1336 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—[Passage omitted] Speaking about incidents between the GDR and the FRG connected with the illegal exit of GDR citizens to West Germany, the Foreign Ministry spokesman [Gremitskikh] noted that they underline with total clarity the urgent need to completely transfer relations between the two German states to a basis of international law—above all, that of respect by Bonn for GDR citizenship. He expressed bewilderment in connection with the position of the West German diplomatic missions "which, contrary to generally recognized international norms, consider that they are entitled to look after the citizens of another sovereign state and to provide them with FRG passports."

In the view of the Soviet side, it was stressed at the briefing, what we have here is a relic of the past, a desire to maintain claims to represent the interests of the citizens of a country with which the FRG has normal interstate relations. [passage omitted]

Denies Knowledge of Palme Murder

LD2508140989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1321 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 25 August (TASS)—[Passage omitted] "A preposterous fabrication" was a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman's description today of a report broadcast yesterday by Swedish television, which "astonished" viewers and listeners with the sensational news that the Soviet Union had allegedly known about the imminent killing of Olof Palme.

During a briefing held in Moscow today, Yuriy Gremitskikh, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate dwelled on this report from Swedish television, which had cited the results of observations by the country's relevant special services of one Soviet diplomat, who was, they stated, an intelligence representative. "It is not unexpected for us," Yuriy Gremitskikh said, "that the Swedish special services keep under tireless surveillance all those who come from the USSR or have something to do with it. And despite our persistent efforts, both in the international arena and within the country, which testify unambiguously to our true aims with regard to other countries and peoples, the virus of suspicion and disapproval of everything Soviet has, evidently, not left the Swedish security services."

There must be a limit to everything, stressed the representative of the Soviet foreign policy department in this connection, and when it is crossed, one starts to doubt whether all is in order in the aforementioned services of the Swedish kingdom, and whether the episode in question is not a relapse of an old illness.

Also today, the report by Swedish television was categorically denied by an official representative of competent military circles of the USSR.

Historians Discuss Fate of Sweden's Wallenberg

LD2708180189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1915 GMT 26 Aug 89

[From the "Before and After Midnight" program, presented by Vladimir Molchanov, with Yelena Carlbaeck, Swedish historian at Uppsala University, and Larisa Lisyutkina, historian at the Institute of the International Workers Movement; date and given]

[Text] [Molchanov] I think there are very few people in the Soviet Union who know the name of the Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg, which is a great pity because he is one of the heroes of World War II. The fate of Raoul Wallenberg has always been one of the stumbling blocks in the postwar history of East-West relations, which is why I have invited Yelena Carlbaeck, a Swedish historian who works at Uppsala University, and

Larisa Lisyutkina also a historian, working at the Institute of the International Workers Movement, to talk about this. So who is Raoul Wallenberg?

[Carlbaeck] Raoul Wallenberg. He was sent to Budapest by the Swedish Government in mid-1944 to give on the spot help as a diplomat from the Swedish Embassy in rescuing people who were doomed to perish, as one might say, to perish in the gas chambers and so on on account of the policy of the fascists in Hungary and in Germany.

[Molchanov] How many people were rescued by Raoul Wallenberg?

[Carlbaeck] You know this is a question that it has not been possible to establish yet. There are different versions, but we can say perhaps from 50,000 to 100,000—or even more—it's a very large figure.

[Molchanov] How did he rescue them?

[Carlbaeck] Primarily by issuing documents that partially—sometimes fully, sometimes only partially—protected people against interference from the fascists. These documents were called protective passports.

[Molchanov] What happened next?

[Lisyutkina] There then began a surprising period in the destiny and life of Raoul Wallenberg. His biography could provide material both for a tragedy and for a detective story, as well as for a Western. It is one of the most enigmatic biographies of the 20th century. Certainly he was an outstanding personality, an exceptional personality, individually and by his personal efforts he thought up ways of saving people that simply were not envisioned in any instructions, not just passports, but there were houses acquired in the name of the Swedish crown and there were Raoul Wallenberg's personal relations with the top echelons of power in Hungary at that time. Everything was aimed at rescuing people. When he had indeed rescued about 100,000 he himself became one of the anonymous prisoners, one of the anonymous victims of the Gulag.

[Molchanov] How did that happen?

[Lisyutkina] In January, 1945, our troops entered Budapest and on 17 January Raoul Wallenberg was arrested. Thereafter begin the utter riddles turning into myths and legends. We know very few facts about what really happened. Naturally after Raoul Wallenberg disappeared—and to this day he is regarding as being missing—the Swedish Government put many inquiries to our government about his subsequent fate. There are three official documents in existence, three official replies by our government given at different times which contain directly contradictory accounts. A note from 1945, signed by Vladimir Dekanozov, says that Soviet troops did indeed take Raoul Wallenberg into their protection in Budapest, as was provided for under the interstate accords between Sweden and the USSR. But 2 years go by and Raoul Wallenberg does not return to Sweden. The Swedish Government continues to insist upon having explanations. Relatives and his respected family in Sweden also demand an answer and the second document makes its appearance, the second official note from the Soviet government, signed by the not unknown Andrey Vyshinskiy, the content of which was diametrically opposed to the first one. It says that Raoul Wallenberg has never been on the territory of the Soviet Union and we have nothing at all to do with him. Another 10 years go by and in 1957, following the visit by the Swedish prime minister and on Khrushchev's initiative, another investigation is carried out additionally and the third notes makes its appearance. It says Raoul Wallenberg died in 1947 of an infarction in the Lubyanka prison.

[Molchanov] Who signed the third note?

[Lisyutkina] The third note was signed by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. It retains its status as our government's official reply to the inquiries about Raoul Wallenberg's fate right up to the present day.

[Molchanov] Yelena, nearly all Soviet journalists who like me have had occasion to work abroad have come up against this kind of strange manifestation on more than one occasion. In the sixties, and if I'm not mistaken, in 1975 even, there were people abroad who claimed that they had seen Wallenberg alive in the sixties and at the beginning of the seventies. Have you had occasion to meet such people?

[Carlbaeck] No, we from the project have not met them, but we know that such evidence and testimony does exist. The Swedish Foreign Ministry also has such evidence, they have also met such people. I would like to say that there are some very strong pieces of evidence from prisoners who were with him in prison.

[Molchanov] With Wallenberg.

[Carlbaeck] With Wallenberg in the Lefortovo prison and in the Lubyanka and they even gave a sketch, as it were, of exactly where he was imprisoned in 1946 and 1947, they even gave the number of his cell, 203, and they even gave the surnames of those people who are presumed to have questioned him, that is to say Soviet...

[Lisyutkina, interrupting] Prison staff.

[Carlbaeck] Prison staff, yes.

[Molchanov] [video shows drawing of Lefortovo prison] These are Colonel Moklokov, Colonel Vayndorf, Lieutenant Osenkratov and someone called Smirnitskiy and Bubnov. How old would Raoul Wallenberg be today?

[Carlbaeck] He would now be seventy-seven.

[Lisyutkina] Yes, he was born on 5 August 1912. In view of the fact that all trace of him has been lost on our soil it is our duty in the final analysis to tell people the whole truth about what happened to him. We hope very much that not all the ends have been hidden, that someone who can at least tell us something about what happened to Raoul Wallenberg is still alive.

[Molchanov] Just as I hope that the archives still exist that concern the Wallenberg case and we, our program, hope that one day these archives will be opened up and we will be able to tell the truth about this person's fate. For all those who are now watching our program we request that you look carefully at this photograph. This is Raoul Wallenberg. If you have ever had occasion to see him or to talk to him please write to the program "Before and After Midnight." [video shows Molchanov speaking in studio to Carlbaeck and Lisyutkina; at the end of the interview Molchanov holds up a black and white photograph of Wallenberg as a young man]

Commentator Discusses 'Common European Home'

LD2508164489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 25 Aug 89

[From the "International Situation Questions and Answers" program; presented by Yuriy Isayev, All-Union radio foreign political commentator]

[Text] Our listener Golodeva Anna—that is how she presents herself—who lives in the Urals, in Sverdlovsk oblast, at Krutovo station, has sent in a letter which starts with these words, and I quote: Listening to broadcasts about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany I would like to ask, well, did Gorbachev go there specially to build a common European home in Russia for Germans? Are there not already quite enough foreign houses built in Russia? The Americans, Japanese, and Chinese to the east. Now everyone is being invited into Russia so that there should be more saboteurs and provocateurs in Russia.

As you can see, the letter is very harsh in its tone and in its ideas. Nonetheless, we decided to reply to it. I shall ask my colleague Viktor Levin to do this.

[Levin] So that our listeners should have a clearer idea of this letter, I would like to present another quotation from it. Comrade Golodeva writes: Do not compare the present times with what things were like under Stalin. Then there was the revolution and two wars. Our country only survived by struggle. Under Stalin everything was for the people. But now it is peace time and everything is being taken from the people. Under Stalin taxes on kolkhozes [collective farm] were reduced and prices of foodstuffs lowered. Now there are ridiculous prices for foodstuffs and materials. The state went into decline under Krushchev and then Brezhenv. Under Krushchev there was bread in the shops according to the list system. But now warm bread is sent to America by aircraft every day and to other states, too, where there is bread enough from Russia. We are feeding everyone.

In this letter Comrade Golodeva writes about really acute problems which we face in our everyday lives. Our life now, it must be admitted, is not easy. But, therefore, one must carefully examine the reasons and consequences. I quoted what she said about our sending bread to America every day by aircraft in order to show facts are interpreted by force of various circumstances and how they are distorted. And by the way, the fact, the true fact, is that it is not we who are feeding America with bread but America which is feeding us. This is shameful but it is so. The myth about the lowering of prices under Stalin is repeated by those who do know what happened then, who are unaware that after the monetary reform and the abolition of the ration system in 1948 prices were so inflated that it is impossible to imagine today. Then indeed, that reduction did begin, by 10 percent and by 5 percent.

I must say that the letter is written literately. But at the same time, I shall venture to express my own opinion, it is politically illiterate. Take the question which is contained in the letter: Did Gorbachev go to the FRG in order to build a common European home in Russia for Germans? Can this be serious? Let us not permit emotions to swamp our common sense. If Comrade Golodeva followed the visit to the FRG attentively she cannot be unaware that the common European home is a home for all European states, and for all European peoples. This is a home where all European peoples, all European states will live in peace, will live in harmony, will live in conditions corresponding to the demands of the modern civilized world and no one intends to rent out their territory.

The idea of a common European home was put forward before Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to the FRG and this idea is now beginning to take on increasingly real outlines, although, of course, it is still a very long way to a complete and clear idea of what should come of this, but idea, I repeat, is already clear: It is peaceful cooperation, respect for rights and peoples of all European states.

I shall not now dwell on our complicated internal economic problems but I would like to stress one thing quite definitely. The USSR's foreign policy, a policy which is being conducted under the banner of perestroyka, has already led to a reduction in international tension. This is a fact and this has made it possible to undertake a whole range of unilateral steps to reduce our armaments and armed forces and our military budget which bears a direct relation to improving the situation in the national economy and to improving the supply of everyday goods to the people. Moreover, the conversion of military production will in the very near future begin to provide a return in increasing the output of consumer goods.

We have spoken about Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to the FRG. One must realize that now in the FRG serious discussions are being conducted not only in public circles but also in the Defense Ministry itself about the possibility of reducing West Germany's armed forces. This is a direct result of the influence of our foreign policy on the whole course of international affairs in Europe.

Let us ask the question: Does this reduce the military threat? Undoubtedly it does. Do we gain from this? Undoubtedly we do for economic contacts are developing, cooperation is developing with other European countries. Do we gain from this, too? Undoubtedly.

During Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the FRG an agreement was concluded, for example, on the training of Soviet specialists in mastering modern methods of managing production. This will give us considerably more effect, in my view, than any credit acquistion of consumer goods, although, as you know, we are having to go in for that, too.

In summing up, I would like to say once again: Our foreign policy opens up more favorable prospects than ever before to raise the prosperity of the Soviet people. And no matter how difficult and hard it is for us at present, let us, all the same, restrain our emotions. Let us base ourselves on facts and not conjectures and inventions.

Red Cross Work Concerning Soviet POWs Noted

LD2508205189 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Andre Pasquier, head of the Operations Division of the International Red Cross Committee [ICRC], completed today consultations at the USSR Foreign Ministry on giving humanitarian assistance in areas of armed conflicts.

A place of prominence at the consultations was occupied by questions concerning the activity of the Red Cross in Afghanistan. Pasquier told TASS that the committee reached recently an understanding with the "interim government" of extremists and several opposition groups. As a result, the opposition expressed readiness to permit its representatives to visit the POWs and help them establish contacts with relatives. This inspires the committee with the hope for progress in the matter of releasing Soviet POWs, the division head said.

He welcomed the ratification by the Soviet Union of additional protocols to the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 concerning the protection of war victims. These protocols were only partially ratified, due to various reasons, by leading world powers, such as the United States, France, West Germany and others, Pasquier pointed out. The example of the USSR which ratified both documents in full, will help the international committee convince the governments of other counties of the need for recognising these protocols, he said in conclusion.

Retired Generals Urge Disarmament

LD2708125989 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 27 TASS—"The 50th anniversary of the start of the Second World War:" Lessons and Warnings "Was the motto of the sixth meeting of the members of the international 'Generals for Peace and Disarmament'" group.

The meeting held in the Polish capital was attended by retired generals and admirals from 14 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, including those from the Soviet Union and the United States.

The military officers welcomed the wholesome influence of new political thinking on the entire spectrum of international relations and positive trends in the CSCE process.

At the same time they expressed concern over the lack of reliable guarantees of the irreversibility of the process of relaxation of tensions, and the termination of the arms race which may develop into a qualitatively new spiral—a space arms race.

The meeting's final document urges the governments of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries to implement nuclear disarmament, abandon the modernisation of conventional offensive arms and establish a viable system of security on a regional and global scale.

United States & Canada

Ryzhkov Receives Congressional Agriculture Group

LD2608154889 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the Committee on Agriculture on the U.S. Congress House of Representatives, led by its chairman E. de la Garza. The delegation stayed in the USSR as part of parliamentary exchanges.

The substantive and businesslike conversation focused on Soviet-U.S. current positive changes in them.

The U.S. congressmen shared their impressions from the stay in the Soviet Union, praised the atmosphere of openness and readiness for cooperation on the part of Soviet agricultural enterprises and organisations.

The Soviet side drew attention to the continuing anachronisms in Soviet-U.S. economic relations, which, despite marked progress in political relations, are seriously hampered by artificial restrictions dating from the cold war period.

Economic Cooperation Emphasized

LD2608164189 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov received in the Kremlin today a delegation of the Committee on Agriculture of the U.S. House of Representatives, led by its chairman E. de la Garza. The delegation stayed in the USSR as part of parliamentary exchanges.

The substantive and businesslike conversation focused on Soviet-U.S. relations and the current positive changes in them. Ryzhkov dwelled in detail on guidelines for political, social and economic transformations in the USSR and the pace of economic reform. Special emphasis was laid on broad vistas that open in this connection for stepping up economic interaction between the USSR and USA, especially in the field of agriculture.

The U.S. congressmen shared their impressions from the stay in the Soviet Union, praised the atmosphere of openness and readiness for cooperation on the part of Soviet agricultural enterprises and organisations. They noted that familiarisation with the situation in the Soviet agro-industrial complex convinced them of a large potential in developing production of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, although this branch of the economy seriously lagged behind. On the whole the congressmen had a more favourable impression of the situation in Soviet agriculture than before their trip to the Soviet Union.

Acknowledging some critical remarks by the American representatives, Ryzhkov went on to brief them on the guidelines for modern agrarian policy of the CPSU, elaborated at the March 1989 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, on efforts to use the Soviet defence industry for the manufacture of advanced production equipment for the processing industries of the agro-industrial complex.

De la Garza and other members of the delegation said that the American public follows with great interest the course of Soviet perestroyka, wishes it success and displays growing interests in expanding Soviet-U.S. exchanges and strengthening mutual understanding. They said Soviet agricultural enterprises could primarily benefit from American expertise in processing and marketing farm produce.

The Soviet side drew attention to the continuing anachronisms in Soviet-U.S. economic relations which, despite marked progress in political relations, are seriously hampered by artificial restrictions dating from the cold war period. All this is the hangover of the past and should be gotten rid of. On the whole, the American interlocutors expressed understanding of the argumentation on this issue.

U.S. House Delegation Departs

LD2608124289 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS—A U.S. delegation from the House of Representatives Commission on Agriculture, led by its chairman E. de la Garza, left Moscow today. The delegation stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on Food and Agrarian Issues.

Cheney's Soviet Threat Allegations 'Outlandish'

LD2708221689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Commentary by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] The U.S. news agencies are carrying reactions to the speech made by U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney at the National Congress of Veterans of Foreign Wars in Las Vegas. He accused members of the House of Representatives of cutting important military programs and of being generally optimistic in their assessment of the Soviet Union's intentions in the military sphere. According to Cheney, the Soviet military threat has not subsided in the least and the United States is now up against a more menacing offensive arsenal than a few years ago. Here's Boris Andrianov with a Mayak commentary:

[Andrianov] Richard Cheney's speech is further evidence that U.S. military and political leaders are continuing to uphold the proposition that the Soviet Union allegedly poses the main military threat to the West. Incidentally, the Pentagon boss has an example to follow: One need only think back to one of the pronouncements made by the present occupant of the White House, George Bush. The cardinal fact remains irrefutable, he stated to Congress—the Soviets retain a very powerful military machine in the service of aims which, as in the past, too often contradict our aims. The U.S. defense minister lost no time in adopting the President's tone. In his address to the members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Cheney stated as follows: I do not think that we have reached a level of relations with the Soviet Union that would allow us to save resources; I believe, he stressed, that it would be a huge mistake for us to reduce our military capabilities and restrict our defense potential.

It's precisely in these tones that Cheney's Las Vegas speech as couched, a speech which the news agencies unanimously described as his toughest since becoming U.S. defense secretary. I would even say that to some extent one could sense an echo of the bad old cold war days in that speech, so abundant was it in long since obsolete anti-Soviet cliches and elements of a similar nature. Yet Cheney had to provide at least some justification for what was, to be frank, an outlandish conclusion about the Soviet military threat allegedly still existing for the West. And here's the proof he gave: According to him, the Soviet Union is now substantially upgrading all components of its strategic arsenal and this, you see, confirms its definite intentions. In order to lend an appearance of veracity to his statement, Cheney claimed that since 1985 Soviet military expenditure has grown by an average of 3 percent a year in real terms.

If the U.S. defense secretary was counting on astonishing the world with his arguments, then, to be honest, he has truly achieved his objective. Can one fail to be astonished by his attacks on the Soviet Union for upgrading its strategic weapons when the same thing is being done—and in a very active way—by the United States, with which we have not yet reached any accords in this area? And what value can one attach to Cheney's revelation—if I may use the word—that the Soviet Union's military expenditure is growing, when the entire world knows that our country is substantially reducing its defense allocations? In ignoring these facts, Cheney had only one aim in mind—to extract new allocations for the Pentagon from Congress.

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador Matlock

PM2508134689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 21 August A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to Moscow, at his request. During the talk, which mainly concerned international regional questions, they examined, in particular, the prospects for the work of the conference on Cambodia that is under way in Paris, as well as the crisis in Lebanon.

Meets With Envoy Joyce

LD2508201389 Moscow TASS in English 1923 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received today John Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires to the USSR, and discussed with him some questions of bilateral Soviet-American relations.

China

PRC Foreign Ministry Denies Deng Seriously Ill

OW2608153789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] In Beijing, a spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs refutes Western reports that Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping is seriously ill.

The spokesman said that these reports are completely groundless.

Similar reports have time and again appeared on newspapers of the West recently. The last time the U.S. newspaper, THE NEW YORK TIMES, published such a report was last Thursday [24 August].

Women's Leader Chen Muhua Interviewed on Visit

OW2508135189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 18 Aug 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] On 17 August, a delegation from the All-China Women's Federation, headed by Chen Muhua, arrived in the Soviet Union for a visit. Chen Muhua is president of the All-China Women's Federation, vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, and member of the CPC Central Committee.

Among those greeting the delegation at Moscow Airport were (Petunova), first deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Women; and Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Graciously, Chen Muhua granted our station reporter (Koleshev) an interview immediately on her arrival.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] We would like to ask you a few questions. What is the purpose of your present visit to the Soviet Union?

[Chen Muhua] We have come here for a friendly visit at the kind invitation of the Committee of Soviet Women and its chairman Pukhova.

[Reporter] What is your comment on the current level of cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese women's organizations?

[Chen Muhua] The women's organizations of the Soviet Union and China have maintained very good relations. Last year, Chairman Pukhova visited China. This year, I have come here for a visit. This indicates that high-level contacts exist between the women's organizations of our two countries.

[Reporter] What do you think of the prospects for developing cooperation in the future?

[Chen Muhua] I think the women's organizations of both countries have the common desire to do their best to develop their friendly relations continually.

[Reporter] Actually, there are [words indistinct] relations.

[Chen Muhua] Ha, ha.

[Reporter] In what fields do you think the women's organizations of the two countries can develop exchanges?

[Chen Muhua] I think we can conduct exchanges in the fields related to work for women and children.

[Reporter] Thank you. [end recording]

A written statement by Comrade Chen Muhua was distributed at the airport. In the statement, she said: This is my first visit to the Soviet Union. During this visit to your country, I wish to get acquainted with the Soviet women's activities in various fields, as well as their working conditions, educational level, and social status. I shall also provide similar information about Chinese women. I wish to convey, through your organization, our best wishes to all women in the Soviet Union. China and the Soviet Union are close neighbors, linked by common mountains and rivers. Traditional friendship existed in the past and still exists at present between the people and women of our two countries. Not only in China, but also in the Soviet Union, women are playing a significant role, or as our saying goes, a role in holding up half the sky. They are a major force in socialist construction. Developing friendship between the women of our two countries is developing friendship between the people of our two countries. I firmly believe the current visit will mark another step in developing our friendship and mutual understanding.

CPC Conference Ends With Appeal To 'Cement' Party

PM2508112189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Fate of Reform. All-China Conference on Party Building Ended in Beijing"]

[Text] The participants in the all-China conference of heads of party committee organizational departments of the PRC's provinces, autonomous regions, and cities under central jurisdiction, which has ended in Beijing, have appealed to Communists to cement the party, to make a personal contribution to the country's socialist development, and to activate the struggle against corruption.

The restructuring of the political system, Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, declared, must correspond to the tasks of strengthening and improving the party's leading role. He pointed to the need to punish corrupt party functionaries and strengthen ties between the CPC and the people's masses.

The leader of the Chinese Communists emphasized that the dangers of the attempts at "peaceful evolution" in China being made by hostile external forces and their influence on China, as well as the harm being done to the party by the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, must not be underestimated.

The victory won in the course of suppressing the disturbances attests to the combat ability of the CPC, which no hostile forces can shake, Song Ping, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, declared in the report. The recent events brought to light the existence of many problems in party organizations and among Communists. Some of these problems are quite acute. The emergence and escalation of the disturbances, which spilled over, in the end, into a counterrevolutionary revolt, were chiefly the result of internal party problems.

During the recent events, he pointed out, a number of party organizations and cadre workers wrote and disseminated antiparty statements, leaflets, and letters opposing the CPC Central Committee, and certain party leaders initiated the holding of illegal demonstrations, marching in the front ranks, while "some even threatened to have done with the party." In order to bring to light adherents of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, Song Ping said, it is necessary to conduct a check among party leaders of varying rank.

Emphasizing the importance of strengthening party building in every possible way, Song Ping pointed out that the fate of the reform, of the policy of external openness, and of the cause of China's socialist modernization as a whole depends on the success of work in this sphere.

Antarctic Scholar on Cooperation With PRC

OW2808011989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] The International Antarctic Expedition, composed of six representatives from the Soviet Union, the United States, China, France, Britain, and Japan, set out on 1 August. They have traveled the first few kilometers of their journey on ski and sledge.

The expedition plans to travel more than 6,000 km in 7 months. (Viyaerskiy), member of the Soviet Antarctic survey team, has coordinated with China's (Qin Dahao) in carrying out wide-ranging scientific projects. They are both experts in the study of ice and snow. We can say that their cooperation in the International Antarctic Expedition is the first concrete case of Sino-Soviet cooperation in Antarctic surveys. It is apparent that the joint survey by the Soviet Union and China in Antarctica holds great promise. This is testified by the following talk:

Our station reporter (Garipov) now talks with (Krikurov), chief of the Antarctic Geology and Mineral Resources Section under the All-Union Geology and World Ocean Mineral Resources Research Institute.

[(Krikurov) is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading to Mandarin translation] [Male announcer] (Krikurov) says: We already have a very specific example. When our new Antarctic survey team arrived in Antarctica, the Chinese survey team members helped us unload the cargo, because they had the machinery we did not have. Besides, China is very interested in the Soviet experience in guaranteeing transportation and scientific activities related to the survey. This interest is understandable, because the Chinese survey station is located close to the Soviet one, which makes effective cooperation in the transportation of supplies and in the survey of the areas within the jurisdiction of their stations easier. This prevents the two stations from blindly engaging in similar research projects.

[Female announcer] In what way can the Soviet and Chinese survey team members cooperate in the Antarctic survey?

[Male announcer] (Krikurov) said: Our Chinese friends are also very interested in our experience in navigation. They need our nautical instruments, navigation charts, and other documents to coordinate their frost and weather forecasts. I think we can make use of our Chinese counterparts' experience in studying and analyzing (?misty rocks). For instance, we may bring some of our rock samples to the Chinese laboratory, which will help us conduct research on the rocks using their methods. In the next few years, China plans to earnestly carry out an oceanographic survey. This means that we can follow the principle of mutual benefit and cooperate in oceangraphic research and in the survey of biological resources of the world's oceans.

[Female announcer] Before the International Antarctic Expedition set out, all 6 participants spent 2 weeks living and working in China's Changcheng Survey Station. You also joined the Soviet survey team in visiting foreign Antarctic survey stations. What is your impression of China's Changcheng Survey Station?

[(Krikurov) is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading to Mandarin translation] [Male announcer] (Krikurov) says: The Antarctic Treaty stipulates that any signatory may inspect the activities of other countries in the Antarctic. The Soviet Union has conducted surveys in Antarctica for more than 30 years, but it was not until last year that we first exercised this right of inspecting other countries' activities in the Antarctic. A Soviet government-level inspection group was organized to visit 15 survey stations from 14 countries. So, we had a chance to make comparisons. The Changcheng Survey Station was more advanced than other stations. It is fairly large and has a wholesome ecological environment. The station provides good living conditions for the survey team members. However, the comprehensive and permanent survey program of the Changcheng Survey Station is somewhat limited for the time being.

In conclusion, the Soviet Antarctic survey scholar (Krikurov) said: We should point out that Chinese scholars have completely complied with the stipulations of the Antarctic Treaty regarding environmental protection, as well as the areas in Antarctica which are in need of special protection or have special value for scientific survey.

Northeast Asia

Soviet-Japanese Meeting on Economic Ties Continues

Ryzhkov Receives Japanese Delegation

LD2508113889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1040 GMT 25 Aug

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—Today, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin leaders of a delegation of Japanese business circles who are in Moscow in connection with the holding of the 12th joint conference of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet Committee for Economic Cooperation.

The participants in the meeting noted the major positive changes in international affairs which have occurred since the holding of the previous Soviet-Japanese forum under the influence of the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking.

It was stated that Soviet-Japanese relations as a whole are following the course of these positive international trends—political dialogue is being stepped up, ties in practical spheres are expanding, and the general atmosphere of bilateral relations is improving.

Characterizing the principled line of USSR policy in relation to Japan, N.I. Ryzhkov noted that it is directed toward the development of fully fledged and neighborly links between the two countries, the scale and quality of which will correspond to the potentials of both countries and the political and economic realities of the contemporary world. The readiness of the Soviet Union for extensive cooperation with Japan in various spheres on the basis of the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage was expressed. Constructive Soviet-Japanese interaction would not only serve the strengthening of neighborliness between the peoples of the two countries but would also assist the affirmation of the atmosphere of peace and stability in the Asian-Pacific region and worldwide.

The Japanese guests were informed about the restructuring being carried out in the Soviet Union, which, despite the great difficulties, is moving forward, the implementation of reform of foreign economic links, and the opportunities opening up in this connection for Soviet-Japanese business cooperation, especially in the Far East. At the same time, a thought was expressed on the desirability of the organizational and structural improvement of cooperation and of a fuller coming into operation [words indistinct] about the possibilities of setting up joint enterprises for timber processing, the production of consumer goods, and the processing of agricultural raw materials in the Far East and in Siberia.

The Japanese participants in the meeting confirmed the interest of business circles in Japan in the development of mutually advantageous trade and economic links with the USSR and stated their ideas on possible measures for its further expansion.

A positive exaluation was given by both sides to the activities of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanse-Soviet committees on economic cooperation, and the practical importance of the current meeting for the further deepening of the business partnership between the two countries was noted.

Maslyukov Present at Talks

LD2508125989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received in the Kremlin the leaders of a delegation of Japanese business circles, which is in Moscow in connection with the holding of a joint session of the Soviet-Japanese and Japanese-Soviet Committees on Economic Cooperation. [passage omitted]

Participating in the discussion on the Japanese side were Kawai head of the delegation, Muto, Japan's ambassador to the USSR, and the leaders of a number of Japanese companies. Participating on the Soviet side were Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of Gosplan of the USSR, and others.

Accord Reached on Paper-Pulp Complex

OW2708100989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] While the 12th meeting of the Joint Japan-Soviet Economic Committee is continuing its work in Moscow, today—25 August—is its final day. This morning representatives of Japanese businesses and leaders of Soviet enterprises met.

In accordance with economic reform policy of the Soviet Union, Soviet enterprises are now vested with the right to conduct independent economic activitities with foreign countries, which has subsequently drawn great attention.

In the afternoon, the final round of the meeting is scheduled.

At the talk between delegations of business circles from both sides, an accord was reached on establishing a paper-pulp complex with an annual capacity of 200,000 tons in a joint venture in Sakhalin. The sides also agreed that a delegation of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry would be sent to Japan in order to study the market situation.

The Japanese delegation for this meeting is comprised of 219 representatives, headed by Ryoichi Kawai, chairman of Komatsu, Ltd.

Business Talks End

LD2508194989 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Military production conversion, launched in the USSR, opens up fundamentally new possibilities for the USSR's business cooperation with Western countries, including Japan, Vladislav Malkevich, chairman of the Presidium of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the USSR, said.

He addressed a news conference on the results of the 12th three- day meeting of Soviet and Japanese business circles which ended here today. It was attended by several hundreds of businessmen for both countries. Malkevich led the Soviet delegation.

What is at issue is certainly not joint SS-20 missile production, he said, but many of recently declassified defence technologies could be of interest to Japanese firms. A packet of proposals for such cooperation, including part of technologies of the Soviet Buran reusable spaceship, was handed over to them in the course of the meeting.

Malkevich mentioned other prospective areas of business relations with Japan, discussed at the Moscow meeting, namely regional cooperation in the Soviet Far East, establishment of consumer goods productions, including technologically sophisticated, there, with the participation relations with Soviet enterprises which have been given the right to appear on their own in the world market. Their share last year amounted to over half of the total Soviet exports to Japan.

Much attention in the course of the meeting was paid to joint enterprise. This form of business relations with Japan is so far sluggish.

Malkevich believes that this is attributed to the fact that conditions for establishing joint ventures in the USSR that Americans and Europeans took interest in are so far not attractive enough to Japanese businessmen. The Soviet side will have to look for new approaches to attract them.

Ryoichi Kawai, head of the Japanese delegation, said that 1988 was a record year by the level of trade with the USSR. He expressed the hope that the decisions of the meeting would lend a fresh impetus to the bilateral business relations.

Japanese Businessman Comments on Trade

OW2608063389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] As we had already announced, the 12th Soviet-Japanese Economic Joint Committee meeting started in Moscow on 23 August. Radio Moscow correspondent Bandura interviewed one of the representatives who attended the meeting:

[Matsuda] My name is Matsuda and I am a president of Kyoho Trading Company.

[Reporter] Is this the first time you are attending a meeting like this?

[Matsuda] No, I started to attend meetings, as an expert, about 10 years ago.

[Reporter] What is the significance of a meeting like this?

[Matsuda] I think that holding a meeting itself is very important.

[Reporter] What do you expect of the meeting?

[Matsuda] Well, I have great expectations because a meeting like this can provide an opportunity for both sides to talk to each other.

[Reporter] Have you ever traded with the Soviet Union?

[Matsuda] A trading experience, did you say? Kyoho Trading Company is 8th largest trade partner of the Soviet Union among the Japanese trading companies, including major trading houses. We mainly deal with steel products. As reported in OGONEK, we have recently donated 60,000 U.S dollars for an anti-AIDS drive. Our company is making similar donations for public welfare and politics in different countries.

[Reporter] What is your opinion on the current situation of Japanese-Soviet trade?

[Matsuda] Well, I hope the perestroyka program will enter a long-term stable period after successfully cutting its way through the general assembly this fall because most of our business negotiations are behind schedule. If I may make a comparison, it is like seeing a stretch of flower fields beyond a big valley. We are spending a lot of time crossing the valley.

[Reporter] What are the future prospects for Japanese-Soviet trade?

[Matsuda] If the Soviet Union's domestic situation gets better after the general assembly meeting, slated for this fall, trade will be activated next summer, and, I think, we can establish long-lasting stable relations.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Vasilyev Sees No Change in Japanese Foreign Policy

OW2508123989 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Vasilyev commentary]

[Text] The Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] of Japan suffered a serious defeat in the elections held on 23 July. Concerning possible effects on the international community of the defeat as well as the birth of the new Kaifu cabinet, Radio Moscow commentator Vasilyev writes:

There are views that the past stability of Japanese diplomacy might be upset. The LDP has not been observed to take any fresh steps or any drastic initiatives in pursuing Japan's diplomacy during the 40 years of its administration. However, it has established and confirmed a basic parameter in this regard. This parameter includes such policies as close alliance with the United States, inseparability with the Western bloc, strengthening of Japan's influence in the international community, and above all, strengthening of its influence through economic measures.

How these traditional policies will change depend on future developments in Japan. Many people observe that the current Kaifu cabinet will last only until the next election, the election for the House of Representatives, and since both Prime Minister Kaifu himself and Foreign Minister Nakayama are new to international affairs, they cannot be expected to take any initiatives, particularly in diplomacy. On the contrary, it is observed that the new cabinet will try to maintain the status quo.

This argument is also true when applied to Japanese-Soviet relations. Hopeful signs for constructive dialogue have emerged recently in Japanese-Soviet relations, and consultations have been held on signing a peace treaty. Of course, we will not restart all consultations from nothing. However, this forward-looking approach should be maintained. Judging from Foreign Minister Nakayama's remarks, Japan seems to share the same thinking.

Nevertheless, there are also concerns that the process of developing Japanese-Soviet relations might be slowed down. To promote the development of relations, it will be necessary to seek new political solutions which might lead both nations out of deadlock. As is known to all, in seeking new political solutions, the administration must enjoy a strong position at home. We will be able to reach concrete conclusions on the new Japanese cabinet's intentions toward the Soviet Union after the two foreign ministers, Shevardnadze and Nakayama, hold talks in New York in September.

As a whole, problems concerning Japan-U.S. relations are also very complicated. For example, let us take the issue concerning the liberalization of agricultural imports. Continued efforts to pursue the liberalization policy will result in a crisis of further losing the support of farmers. On the other hand, should Japan put the brakes on liberalization, it would be tantamount to pouring oil on the flames of trade friction with the United States.

How does the Kaifu cabinet plan to get out of such a situation? In an interview with SANKEI SHIMBUN, Foreign Minister Nakayama termed the readjustment of Japan's relations with the United States as a very important task in its foreign policies. In this connection, it is no accident that Prime Minister Kaifu has decided to pay a visit to the United States in late September, so soon after his inauguration.

In talking about prospects of Japan's foreign policy, there is one point that must be taken into consideration; that is, even if the LDP should remain in power in the future, it will no longer be able to formulate and carry out foreign policy without paying attention to its surroundings. Moreover, even if the opposition is able to form a coalition government, there would perhaps be more problems concerning differences in opinion among the opposition parties. The problems would include such foreign policy issues as the attitude toward the security pact and the approach toward the Republic of Korea. It is doubtful the opposition parties will be able to reach an agreement on these issues. Furthermore, even if an agreement is reached, on what principles would they be able to reach accord?

In other Western nations such Spain and France, there have been socialist administrations. Their experiences can be applied to Japan, and they indicate that the new administration will inevitably have to reject most of its past radical policies and slogans. The new administration will be forced to do so because of the complicated overall international ties it has inherited from the conservative administration.

If a similar case should arise in Japan, the socialist party would be forced to abandon its attempt to change the current situation because it will have to support the heavy weight imposed on its administration, a job with which the party is unfamiliar. This possibility has been clearly pointed out in the remarks made recently by several opposition party leaders.

These are all nothing but predictions. However, domestic developments in Japan indicate changes and eligible voters have clearly stated that they are tired of the LDP's monopoly on power. Eligible voters have now come to understand that any type of monopoly will eventually end up in violation of political ethics and in politicians failure to listen to the opinions of the nation.

Concrete conclusions on foreign policy will probably be reached when the new correlation of power in Japan is clarified. For such conclusions, we will have to wait at least until the elections for the House of Representatives.

Congratulatory Message Sent to Japanese Premier

LD2608063189 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The Soviet Government has congratulated the Japanese prime minister, Toshiki Kaifu, on taking office. A telegram expresses the hope that the trend towards Soviet-Japanese relations will receive further impetus along the lines of goodneighborhood.

In a reply message Mr Kaifu spoke in favor of establishing stable bilateral relations based on mutual understanding by expanding a dialogue and building up trust.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Makes Stop in Moscow

LD2508115189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—On 24-25 August Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of Foreign Affairs of the State of Cambodia, stopped over in Moscow. He is on his way to Paris to take part in the final stage of the International Conference on Cambodia.

Fishing Agreement Reached With Papua New Guinea

BK2508070489 Hong Kong AFP in English 0652 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Port Moresby, Aug 25 (AFP)—Papua New Guinea and the Soviet Union have reached agreement here this week on a fisheries treaty and the establishment of a Soviet diplomatic mission in Port Moresby, foreign affairs officials said Friday.

The officials said Foreign Minister Michael Somare would announce details of the fishing treaty before it is signed next week.

They declined to reveal details of the agreement, hammered out during three days of talks here with Soviet officials.

Kiribati and Vanuatu are the only other island states to have entered fishing agreements with Moscow, but both lapsed after just one year.

Foreign Affairs Secretary Bill Dihm said agreement had also been reached this week with another visiting Soviet delegation on the opening of a permanent mission in Papua New Guinea.

Mr. Dihm said details on the opening of the mission would be released at a later date.

Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu invited Moscow to open a mission in Port Moresby as part of a trade-linked diplomat drive.

ASEAN Parliamentarians Hold Conference in Manila

Manglapus Receives Tabeyev Delegation

PM2508134489 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 22 August Philippine Foreign Secretary R. Manglapus received a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians headed by USSR People's Deputy F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, which is in the Philippine capital to take part as an observer in the 10th conference of the ASEAN interparliamentary organization.

During the meeting a wide range of questions concerning the international situation and bilateral relations were discussed.

R. Manglapus welcomed the Soviet parliamentarians' participation in the conference, noting that it reflects the Soviet Union's new thinking and fresh approach to foreign policy questions.

The Soviet delegation also had a meeting with J. Concepcion, minister of trade and industry.

Soviet Observers Attend

LD2508222489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1933 GMT 25 Aug 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] Many of the acute problems of the Asian and Pacific region are currently under discussion at the conference of parliamentarians from ASEAN countries which is taking place now in the capital of the Philippines. Taking part in the work of the conference for the first time as observers is a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians, headed by Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. Today the group of our people's deputies was received by Salonga, the president of the Senate of the Philippines. He stated that great interest is shown in the Philippines in Soviet perestroyka, and expressed satisfaction at the successful development of ties between the parliaments of the two countries.

Tabeyev Condemns U.S. Bases

HK2708071689 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Aug 89

[By unnamed Manila correspondent]

[Text] The tenth general assembly of the ASEAN Interparliamentary Organization formally closed in Manila. The ASEAN is composed of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Brunei. Here is a report by our Manila correspondent on the conference:

The theme of the conference, ASEAN in the 21st Century, became a gauge of the importance of the debates and discussions on the future of the ASEAN in view of ongoing changes and the uneven development of its member states. How are they to take part in the global economy without sacrificing their national interests? These were the issues discussed by the legislators who participated in the meeting in Manila.

Meanwhile, a notable feature of the conference was the presence of delegations from the Soviet Union and China. The USSR delegation was headed by Fikryat A. Tabeyev, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation.

Local analysts considered the participation of the Soviet Union and China in the meeting as very important. According to Philippine Senate President Jovito Salonga, the participation of the two countries shows that we have overcome our differences in an attempt to achieve stability in the region.

The issue of regional security was not included in the official agenda of the conference, but many of the speakers raised the issue, one of the main reasons being the offer of Singapore for the Americans to establish military facilities in its territory. The offer created quite a controversy, with debates focused not only on the military bases but also on their establishment which directly contradicted the ASEAN concept to create a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and nuclear-free in the ASEAN region.

This is an important issue which concerns foreign military presence in Asia. According to a newspaper in Jakarta, JAKARTA POST, it was time to do away with the thinking that the presence of American military bases is necessary and that their removal would lead to a power vacuum in the region.

On the other hand, amid the old rhetorics, the statement of Fikryat Tabeyev, head of the Soviet delegation, attracted much attention. He expressed concern on the continuing militarization in the Asia-Pacific region. According to Tabeyev, the Soviet Union is calling on the governments and people of ASEAN to stop this dangerous trend. On the part of the Soviet Union, it will support peace talks through disarmament moves. Tabeyev cited the reduction of Soviet forces in the Far East which was warmly welcomed around the world.

Tabeyev also said that talks could lead to a balance of interest and mutual assistance, factors that could guarantee peace in the region.

Based on newspaper reports, Tabeyev's speech appeared to have reflected the general sentiments of the ASEAN legislators who took part in the interparliamentary conference in Manila.

Conference Closes

HK2808060789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] In Manila, the ASEAN Interparliamentary Organization conference ended. During the 6-day meeting, legislators from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand discussed Southeast Asia's political, economic, and social problems. The resolutions reached at the conference strongly supported recent international talks on arms reduction.

The representatives upheld their promise to establish a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in the region. They also called for the gradual phaseout of all the foreign military bases in the region, and for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Also present during the meeting were observers from Australia, Canada, China, Soviet Union, South Korea, and Japan.

Near East & South Asia

Special Envoy Tarasov Meets Politicians in Beirut

LD2508131989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Gennadiy Tarasov, assistant to the USSR foreign minister special representative for Middle East affairs, who was in Beirut from 24-25 August, had meetings with a number of Lebanese politicians in the framework of the efforts directed at stabilization of the situation in Lebanon and at helping the resumption of the mission of the Arab League committee on Lebanon set up by the conference of Arab states in Casablanca.

Meets Jordanian Minister in Amman

LD2808094389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Amman, 28 August (TASS)—Marwan Al-Qasim, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Jordan, met G.P. Tarasov, assistant to the USSR foreign minister and special representative on Near East issues, on 27 August.

Arab Countries Welcome USSR Efforts on Lebanon

LD2708144389 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Abu Dhabi August 27 TASS—All Arab countries welcome the Soviet Union's desire to take war-ridden Lebanon out of the tragic condition, AL-BAYAN newspaper published in the United Arab Emirates writes editorially today.

The newspaper urges the international community to support Soviet diplomatic moves in the interests of a constructive dialogue between the warring sides.

All those involved in the Lebanese crisis should promote, not aggravate, the implementation of the Soviet Union's diplomatic initiative undertaken in the name of Lebanon's salvation, points out the press of the Persian Gulf states.

AL-ARAB newspaper published in Qatar believes that the Soviet Union's involvement in the search for ways towards a peaceful settlement in Lebanon has become an "important positive element" supplementing the peace eforts of the League of Arab States (LAS) Tripartite Committee on Lebanon in the spirit of the decisions of the Casablanca Arab Summit.

Pointing to the Soviet Union's good relations with the countries of the region, AL-ARAB and another Qatar-based newspaper, THE GULF TIMES, associate their hopes for a settlement of the Lebanese crisis with Soviet diplomatic actions.

Rafsanjani Denies Power Struggle in Iran

PM2508121989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Directions of Policy"]

[Text] Tehran, 24 Aug—Iran does not intend to interfere in other countries' internal affairs, it will observe the norms of international law, Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani stated at a meeting with the Foreign Ministry leadership and the heads of Iranian diplomatic missions abroad. He noted that Iran is prepared to maintain friendly relations with all countries, with the exception of "two or three states." Our doors are open for cooperation in implementing Iranian reconstruction programs, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said. The Iranian president rejected Western propaganda conjecture that Iranian policy is undergoing a change. He stressed that the new government will move toward the goals outlined by the revolution, but at a faster rate.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani denied Western media reports about a "power struggle in Iran." These reports are similar to the previous fabrications that the "Iranian regime cannot exist without Khomeyni." "The peoples," the president stressed, "should know that there are no political problems in our country."

Commentator Notes Rafsanjani Shift in Policy

NC2608123989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Recently Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's policy outlining the main directions of the activities of the new cabinet was published in Tehran. This 18-page document has been distributed to the Majlis deputies who are currently involved in the approval of the new Iranian cabinet. Our commentator Yuriy Andreyev writes:

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's policy is apparently not different from his speeches. The same Islamic (?reforms), the same promise to continue on Imam Khomeyni's path, and the same wish to fulfill the aspirations of the Iranian revolution can be seen in this policy.

But if we look more carefully, we can see that the policy of the current leadership of the Islamic Republic consists of many non-traditional ideas and approaches. Let us look at these. The first point that attracts attention is the legal nature of the new cabinet's policy. The statement repeatedly states that respect for law and for the rights of the citizens will form the basis of domestic policy. The statement says that the government will pave the way for cooperation among all parties and for avoiding dictatorship, by relying on freedom and respect for all.

Meanwhile, major attention has been given to ensuring the rights of women. The policy statement says that the role of the women during the Revolution was in many ways more significant than the role of men. International organizations have criticized Iran on several occasions for violating women's freedoms and rights.

The political liberalization that has been declared in this statement signed by President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani infers reappraisal of some aspects of the government's economic policy. First, a reduction of the government's role in economic affairs and the further expansion of the private sector is foreseen. The government is granted the right to sell state-owned industrial institutions that are not listed among large institutions and national industries to individuals.

It appears that the Iranian officials are distancing themselves more and more from former anticapitalist slogans. It is also obvious that the increase of the executive branch's role in managing the country's affairs and, as a result, a specific reduction in religious control over state affairs, have been foreseen in this policy.

It is not accidental that former Interior Minister 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami recently warned that Iranian's should not forget Imam Khomeyni's testament and their revolutionary values. The name of 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami, considered one of the most extremist personalities in the Islamic Republic of Iran, has been omitted from the new cabinet list.

It is interesting that the current Iranian leadership's policy statement foresees a serious rennovation of Iran's educational system and pays attention to the considerable elevation of the role of higher education and to the fundamental improvement of its quality.

Many observers interpret this as a wish to attract the technocrat heads in the management of state and economic affairs and to include them in the cabinet.

This trend has already started. For example, Hamid Mirzadeh, 39-year old chemist who is considered to be an expert in technical and economic affairs, was selected as one of the deputy presidents.

On foreign affairs, the policy declares a continuation of the neither East nor West policy. At the same time, it points out that one of the major aspects of Iran's international policy will be to establish friendly relations with its neighbors. This declaration can apparently be interpreted as the Islamic Republic of Iran leadership's wish to ensure the further improvement of Soviet- Iranian relations. During the pre-election campaign, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani described these relations as an example of relations based on equal rights, pointing out that these relations are unprecedented.

Meanwhile, the policy statement of the new cabinet does not mention any surrender to the West. One can assume that this will disappoint those foreign analysts who very recently made various predictions on this. It seems that Iran's basic stand on this issue has not changed. The re-establishment of Iran's relations with the Western countries can only be possible only if interference in domestic affairs is stopped, equal of rights established, and the realities of the Islamic Republic realized.

The policy document of the cabinet which is in the process of approval now delineates Iran's economic and political progress in the near future. The new Iranian leadership is apparently prepared, without ignoring its principled stands, to attempt specific tests.

Discusses Iranian Cabinet

NC2608091989 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] The formation of the new cabinet continues in Iran. President 'Ali Hashemi-Rafsanjani approved three deputies and submitted a list of 23 ministerial candidates to the Majlis. Our commentator, Yuriy Andreyev writes:

President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani delivered a detailed speech during his oath-taking ceremony, pointing out: All of us should take practical steps to fulfill the wishes of the Iranian people.

These remarks reflect the true objective of the new Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is clear that politically Iran has entered an extremely important stage, because after the approval of the country's Constitutional amendments, the solution to many problems concerning the society's economic and social development will depend on the efficiency and expertise of the cabinet.

The first noteworthy point is that the ministerial candidates are relatively young, averaging a little more than 40 years old. For example, 'Abd al-Nuri, candidate for the post of interior minister, was born in 1949. 'Ali Fallahian, candidate for the post of justice minister too is 40 years old.

Many in Tehran hope that the coming to power of young leaders will lead to a search for new and non-stereotypical paths to solve the Iran's problems.

Also, many of the candidates are relatively famous in the country because they held leadership posts in the past and are experienced in state and political affairs. For example, Mohsen Nurbakhsh, candidate for the post of minister of economic affairs and finance, is considered an expert in Iranian economy. After the Islamic Revolution he was governor of the Bank Markazi and was also elected as a Tehran deputy to the Majlis.

Our commentator then writes: Another noteworthy characteristic of the new cabinet is the logical mixture of relatively young leaders and of experienced people who acted as ministers for a long time. We know that the cabinet consists of 22 names, 12 of whom have been introduced for the first time. At the same time, many of the members of the current cabinet will be included in the new cabinet. The ministers of foreign affairs, Islamic guidance, road and transportation, petroleum, agriculture, and some other ministers are expected to retain their posts.

Experts in Iranian affairs believe that the composition of the new cabinet inspires hope and that the needed continuity will be ensured in the policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran Government. Meanwhile, it is difficult to consider the omission of Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi, Interior Minister 'Ali Akbar Mohtashami, and Information Minister Mohammad Reyshahri as accidental. It is well known that these political figures were famous for their extremist views. Their omission may possibly manifest Iran's new leadership policy.

However, the selections of the key positions of deputy presidents attracted the most attention in the world. We know that 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani selected Rafsanjani Dr Hasan Habibi and Ayatollah Mohajerani as first and second deputy presidents respectively. On 23 August, Hamid Mirzadeh, 39-year old political figure was selected as third deputy president.

It is interesting that all these selections to highly responsible posts are symmetrical. 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani's deputies are not veteran politicians, but experts in one field or another. Hasan Habibi is Iran's most famous jurisconsult and law expert. He was minister of justice for a long time, and he is an outstanding expert on Iranian law and Islamic teachings. Ayatollah Mohajerani is a scholar who is an expert on matters of jurisprudence. He will be in charge of the relations between the president and the parliament where clergymen hold a large number of seats. Hamid Mirzadeh is a chemist and well aware of various technical and economic issues.

It is not accidental that a large number of people in Tehran hope that the well-calculcated division of posts will grant the Iranian leadership the opportunity to fight the nation's serious social and economic problems more alertly and more effectively.

The study on the new cabinet is expected to take some time. TEHRAN TIMES writes: What remains is to wait and watch the arguments between the supporters and opposers of each candidate in the Majlis. The newspaper writes: An interesting point is that the voting process will be based on secret balloting.

Well, as the old saying goes: Haste makes waste. Therefore, we will not be hasty and will wait to see the outcomes of the voting.

Nikiforov Meets With Afghanistan's Wakil 27 Aug

LD2808080889 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil arrived in Moscow on Sunday [27 August] on his way to Belgrade to attend the 9th Nonaligned Summit Conference.

At the airport, Wakil was welcomed by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Nikiforov and Afghan Ambassador to the USSR Sayyed Mohammad Gulabzoy.

Official Discusses Amnesty for Afghan Veterans

LD2508173889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] As is known, the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session examined the issue of exonerating from criminal liability the former servicemen of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan who committed crimes and ended up as captives of the Afghan armed opposition. In connection with this, Aleksey Dmitriyevich Vasilyev, first deputy procurator general of the USSR, gave the following comment on that important decision to our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorovich.

[Begin recording] [Vasilyev] Last year, Comrade Sukharev, procurator general of the USSR, made a statement on behalf of the Soviet leadership announcing that the "Afgantsy" servicemen who were unable to hold out, who could not bear the tortore of deprivation and captivity and committed unlawful acts to the detriment of our state, would be amnestied on the basis of the highest considerations of socialist humanism. This problem was raised at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and at the first session of the Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision which fully confirmed the procurator general's statement.

[Fedorovich] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, the first question that arises is who the Presidium decision applies to?

[Vasilyev] According to the figures we have, more than 300 Soviet servicemen are missing. Around one third of them, to judge by the circumstances of their disappearance, probably perished in battle. We have information concerning about 70 people to the effect that they are to be found in various armed opposition formations on Afghan territory. Some former Soviet servicemen have been taken to the United States, Canada, and other capitalist countries. What has happened to the others is being established. All of them, should they return to the motherland, must be amnestied. We believe that there can be no amnesty for individuals who were personally involved in murdering and torturing people.

[Fedorovich] This bill has been submitted for the forthcoming session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If it's a matter of humanism, however, the question naturally arises as to whether we have to await the permission of the supreme body before demonstrating such humanism?

[Vasilyev] I understand your question, and I have to say that over the past few years we have been directing our procurators toward paying special attention to inquiries and requests from internationalist servicemen. We have taken measures to improve the effectiveness of procuracy supervision of fulfillment of legislation concerning privileges for the 'Afgantsy'. It must also be noted that a number of individuals who committed unlawful acts have already reported the stories of Ryzhkov, (Khlan), (Matteus), and others. Quite recently—on 18 July 1989—following Comrade Sukharev's announcement, Golovin applied to the USSR consulate in Montreal and returned to the Soviet Union the next day; criminal proceedings had been instituted against him in 1982, but the case has now been closed. I can assure you that our stance on this matter will be firm and consistent. [end recording]

Rejection of Najibullah Proposals Discussed

NC2608135689 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Igor Sheftunov commentary]

[Excerpts] On 23 August, the TEHRAN TIMES carried an editorial calling on the various Afghan opposition groups and Afghanistan's neighbors to start talks on ending the bloodshed in Afghanistan. Our commentator Igor Sheftunov writes:

Such talks have been needed for a long time, but were unfortunately prevented by the extremists in the Afghan opposition. Last Wednesday they once again displayed their insistence on war. The official spokesman of the so-called interim government of the Afghan opposition, which has been formed in Pakistan, rejected the peaceful proposals put forward by Afghan President Najibullah, proposals that could have served as a good basis for establishing peace in Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

Why did the Pakistan-based Afghan opposition extremists so hastily reject these constructive proposals for a peaceful solution to the conflict? I believe that they prefer to base their hopes on escalating the bloodshed in Aghanistan as they have no hope of winning the support of their country's people. The Peshawar-based seven-party alliance has not yet been able to put forward a constructive program for Afghanistan's development that is supported by the Afghan people. The alliance intends to seize power by force with the military support of Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia. After the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the Afghan opposition and its foreign mentors stated that they would take power in Afghanistan within 3 or 4 weeks. However, events developed contrary to their expectations. Even though Pakistani military units armed with U.S. weapons and made up of Saudi mercenaries are taking part in the extremists' operations against the Afghan Government, this government, which enjoys the support of the people, is defeating the armed opposition groups one after the other.

The interim government that is ensconced in Peshawar is finding it increasingly harder to use the Afghan opposition groups to fan the flames of war. The course of events is forcing those who opposed the Afghan Government in the past to set foot on the path of national reconciliation and to resort to dialogue. [passage omitted]

The Peshawar-based alliance is facing defeat and so is trying to attract the Iranian-based Afghan opposition groups that make up the eight-party alliance to participate in their adventurism. Rabbani and other officials of the interim government went to Iran for this purpose several times. The son of Mojaddadi, the so-called head of this government, set up his headquarters in Tehran.

As the TEHRAN TIMES pointed out, however, the Peshawar-based alliance has so far been unable to achieve its goal. The TEHRAN TIMES reports that the growing split between the Afghan opposition groups has led to bloody clashes and justly blames the killing of 30 commanders of the Jami'at-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan in Takhar on the Hezb-e Eslami-ye Afghanistan headed by Hekmatyar.

One can easily see that fratricide, destruction, and chaos will reign in Afghanistan should these so-called mujahidin seize power. Such developments will be met with complete satisfaction among those in Washington, Islamabad, and Riyadh who are arming the Afghan rebels and directing their operations, but they will only destroy Afghanistan's independence and facilitate its domination by foreign powers.

The machinations of the enemies of Afghanistan independence are facing growing resistance from the Afghan people, who are stepping up their struggle to ensure the victory of the policy of national reconciliation, the declared policy of the Najibullah government and one which has been receiving increasing international support. [passage omitted]

During the meeting between Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Tehran earlier this month, reference was made to the importance of convening an international conference on Afghanistan. It is ever more obvious that the implementation of President Najibullah's proposals to end the bloodshed and establish peace in Afghanistan are in the interests of all nations.

Situation 'Complicated' on Soviet-Afghan Border

PM1408090589 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 3

[TURKMENINFORM report on TASS correspondent interview with Lieutenant General Ivan Mikhaylovich Korobeynikov, chief of the Red Banner Central Asian Border District troops, under the rubric "Border Service": "On the Path of Perestroyka"; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] Some 4,000 km of the USSR state border, running through the burning Karakumy sands, outcrops of the Pamir and Kopetdag, fast-flowing mountain streams, and dense reed beds, are guarded by the troops of the Red Banner Central Asian Border District. The military-political situation in neighboring states and the physical and geographical conditions of the region make our sector one of the most difficult. War is still being waged in Afghanistan. Today the sentries at the border troop subunits, pilots, and seamen are continuing the tradition of the previous generations of border guards by maintaining their vigilant watch over our country's borders. Lieutenant General Ivan Mikhaylovich Korobeynikov, chief of the Red Banner Central Asian Border District troops, talked to your TASS correspondent about how the border guard troops perform their service and the tasks they fulfill. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Have the tasks connected with guarding this section of the border changed at all as a result of the Soviet troops being withdrawn from Afghanistan and, if so, to what extent?

[Korobeynikov] I must stress that the main task remains the same: to provide reliable protection and defense of the state border, or, in other words, to quash any attempt to undermine the political, economic, and military interests of the Soviet Union. However, the situation on the Soviet-Afghan section of the border has become rather more complicated. The fact is that in some areas close to Soviet territory, there are periodically armed clashes in Afghanistan between government troops and rebels, between armed opposition detachments of various persuasions over spheres of influence, or between rebel groups over sharing the spoils of war. All this seriously leaves its mark on the conditions in which we have to guard the border. There are attempts to conclude illegal deals, take contraband goods across the border, drugs in particular, and so forth. There are also attempts to throw ideologically harmful material preaching anti-Sovietism and pan-Islamism into our territory. The border guards are successfully fulfilling the tasks for which they are responsible.

Trade Talks With Egypt Conclude

LD2508204989 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The course of realisation of the protocol on trade between the USSR and Egypt for 1989 has been considered by the subcommission on trade of the intergovernmental Soviet-Egyptian commission for economic, trade and scientific and technical cooperation at its first, five-day meeting, which ended here today.

The participants in the meeting outlined measures to broaden mutual trade exchange. They considered the course of deliveries of machinery and equipment for projects now under construction in Egypt with Soviet assistance and also problems of Egyptian export to the Soviet Union. The subcommission discussed prospects of development of the USSR-Egypt trade for 1990.

An exchange of opinions was held on drafting a long-term trade agreement between the two countries for 1991-1995 which will help put mutual trade on a firm, legal footing. The agreement will be part of the programme of long-term trade and economic cooperation up to the year 2000 which is now being drawn up.

The two sides also discussed problems of formation of Soviet and Egyptian commodity prices to gear them to a world standard.

Vladimir Mordvinov, deputy minister for foreign economic relations of the USSR, said that trade and economic relations between the two countries were developing in an upward trend. The Soviet side is interested in supplying Egypt with engineering products and also motor vehicles. Mutual trade between the USSR and Egypt is expected to exceed 1,000 million pound sterling by 1995, he said.

Mohsen Shahab, chairman of the foreign Trade corporation of Egypt, who led the Egyptian delegation, assured the Soviet side that Egypt would honour its obligation to supply cotton to the Soviet market: 10,000 tons will be sold, as envisaged by the agreement.

On the same day the Egyptian delegation was received by minister for foreign economic relations of the USSR Konstantin Katushev.

Yazov Meets With Indian Army Chief of Staff

PM2508111789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at USSR Defense Ministry"]

[Text] On 23 August Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received General V.N. Sharma, chief of staff of the Indian ground forces, who is paying an official visit to the Soviet Union.

During the friendly conversation they discussed questions of mutual interest. Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, and other officials took part in the conversation.

A. Gonsalves, Indian ambassador to the USSR, was present at the conversation.

PDRY, USSR Religious Affairs Officials Meet

EA2608105789 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Today Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Shamsi, head of the religious department in the Ministry of Justice and Religious Endowments, and chairman of the republic's Supreme Religious Council, handed a letter from brother 'Abd-al-Wasi Sallam, minister of justice and religious endowments, to the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. The letter deals with bilateral relations between the Ministry of Justice and Religious Endowments and its institutions, on the one hand, and the Soviet Council for Religious Affairs, on the other.

The letter was handed over during Shaykh Muhammad Abd al-Qadir al-Shamsi's meeting in Moscow this morning with Comrade Nikolay Nikolayevich (Muithin), the official responsible for international relations in the Council for Religious Affairs. Relations between the religious department of the Ministry of Justice and Religious Endowments and the Soviet Union, and ways of strengthening these relations were discussed.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Ethiopian Party Aide Arrives for Talks on Eritrea

PM2508112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and chief of the WPE Central Committee International Department, arrived in Moscow 24 August to exchange opinions on questions linked with the Ethiopian National Assembly (Shengo) initiative on a peaceful settlement to the Eritrean problem.

Holds News Conference

LD2508142989 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The Eritrean problem has had a negative effect on Ethiopia's political, economic and social development in the past 15 years, but one should not forget that it was inherited from the former regime, Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, told a news conference here today. He arrived in the Soviet Union on Thursday [24 August] to exchange views on the peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem.

The government tried on many occasions to hold negotiations with the opposing sides both inside the country and abroad, he continued. However all efforts failed. The fratricidal war continues in the country. This June the Ethiopian leadership proposed peace negotiations to find a peaceful settlement of this problem. In the past three months it undertook numerous steps in this direction and tried to carry out new peace initiatives in four stages.

The first stage consists in informing the world public and the country's population of the government's peace proposals on solving the Eritrean problem and in preparing the first round of talks. The second stage involves holding first negotiations on the peaceful settlement of the Eritrean problem. This stage, which will involve a third side as observer, will aim to elaborate the agenda of the talks, to be held without preliminary conditions, and agreement promoting their success, as well as to define the venue, date and participants in the meeting. The third stage provides for bringing closer together the sides' positions on the solution of the problem, and jointly working out ways of solving it. The fourth stage envisages implementing the elaborated agreements and accords.

"Today," Yigletu said, "we are about to complete the first stage." Negotiations with the People's Front for the Liberation of Eritrea will be held in Atlanta, USA, on September 7 this year. Much credit for preparing these negotiations belongs to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter who created possibilities and conditions for the first contact." [no opening quotation marks as received]

The government is fully resolved to implement the new peace initiatives and carry out the plans with regard to the political solution of the Eritrean problem.

Meets Adamishin in Moscow

LD2608153489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 August, TASS—Ashagre Yigletu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethoiopia [WPE] and head of the International Department of the WPE Central Committee, has been in Moscow on a working visit (24-26 August).

Soviet-Ethiopian consultations regarding the practical implementation of the initiative of the National Assembly (Shengo) of the PDRE [People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia] on a political settlement to the Eritrean problem and an exchange of views on issues connected with the normalization of the situation in the region of the Horn of Africa were conducted in the course of the visit.

In connection with the attainment of an accord on holding a first meeting of representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea in the city of Atlanta (United States) at the beginning of September, Ashagre Yigletu stated that the PDPR leadership intends to proceed firmly along the road of putting into practice the proposals of the country's parliament, which are aimed at achieving a political solution to the Eritrean problem and establishing peace in the north of Ethiopia.

Anatoliy Adamashin, a deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who led the consultations on the Soviet side, stressed that the Soviet Union will continue to promote to the utmost a peaceful settlement to the Eritrean problem and the process of negotiations between Addis Ababa and the Eritrean organizations.

The Soviet-Ethiopian consultations proceeded in the spirit of complete mutual understanding and comradely frankness which is inherent in Soviet-Ethiopian relations and of a constructive approach to the issues discussed.

Ethiopia Said Not Retreating From Socialism

EA2608182289 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Commentary by Maksim Yevgenyev; from "Africa As We See It" program]

[Text] The regular session of the Ethiopian Council of Ministers was held (?last week). Maksim Yevgenyev has the following comments on this issue:

The major agenda of the 2-day session was to draft the 5-year national economic development plan and the proposed 1989/1990 budget. Attention was given to finding solutions for the following issues: to enable the country to be self-sufficient in food; to enhance its economic development; and to alleviate the problem of unemployment. Consideration was given to the country's actual ability and the recent tactical economic corrections by the Ethiopian Government.

About 2 months ago, the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] State Council issued some decrees with a view to encouraging the Republic's economic activities. The aim of the action is to enable cooperative societies and individual entrepeneurs to play an active part in industry and tourism, and to attract (?foreign) capital into the country and carry out joint ventures. Tax and customs duties were reduced for businessmen, and small-scale organizations were allowed to export their produce.

At first glance, all these steps make it seem that the PDRE leadership has moved away from the socialist economic system and the goals which the leadership has stood for. Nonetheless, the country's authorities have repeatedly made it clear that they have never retreated from laying down the foundation for a socialist economy. On the contrary, the planned changes are aimed at speedily improving the national economy.

As is known, the war in the northern part of the country, the recurrent drought, and the unfavorable situation of the international market, together with mistakes in administration and planning, have affected the Ethiopian economy enormously. This situation led to a critical assessment by the 9th regular session of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia Central Committee, which came up with a tangible plan of action to improve the country's socioeconomic situation. According to this program, it is planned to relax slightly the centralization in administering the national economy and to encourage individual or private farms so as to attract local and foreign capital.

The recent decrees issued by the Ethiopian Government are practical steps in implementing this program. Nevertheless, priority is given to cooperative societies and government-owned projects in the national economic development. Cooperative societies, with government assistance, are allowed to get favorable loans, necessary implements, seeds, and fertilizers. The number of farmers, construction, and handicraft cooperative societies is increasing in Ethiopia. Although the production of the cooperative societies is low at present compared to total production, it is expected that by the mid-90s, they will have attained 50 percent of the total area under cultivation.

In assessing the results of last year's budget, it is appropriate to mention some of the encouraging trends in the country's economy. As has been officially noted, the economy has shown an upward trend of 4 percent, and this is more than 2.9 percent in relation to population growth in the country. This result was achieved after individual farmers expanded their productivity due to favorable weather conditions and a price increase for producers.

We hope that this favorable trend will last, says Maksim Yevgenyev. The recent decrees of the PDRE State Council, which have opened a broader horizon for a system of economic management, are the basis for our hope.

Official Assesses Economic Cooperation With Angola

LD2708063889 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1800 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Interview with Vladimir Burmistrov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign economic relations, on Soviet-Angolan economic cooperation to unidentified correspondent; date, place not specified—Burmistov's answers are recorded in Russian with superimposed Portuguese translation; questions are read by announcer]

[Text] [Announcer] What are the main directions taken by cooperation between the two countries?

[Burmistrov] The main directions remain unchanged. The USSR will continue to render assistance in the sphere of energy production. We have a very interesting trilateral project, the Capanda hydroelectric power station with a projected capacity of 520 mw being built in a consortium with Angola and Brazil. In the framework of this project the Soviet Government granted Angola a credit of over R150 million. This is one of our most important undertakings and work is proceeding with great efficiency.

To organize the construction work we set up in Angola a Soviet building and assembly company which will build a series of installations for social purposes, including some on a commercial basis.

We are also looking for other forms of cooperation. Proposals have been handed to the Angolan side on the creation of mixed enterprises for the extracting diamonds and quartz, for the production of fish meal and for the felling and tranforming of timber. In my opinion there are promising prospects in this direction and we intend to pursue them actively.

[Announcer] And what are the prospects of Soviet-Angolan trade?

[Burmistrov] This is one of the weakest points in our relations with Angola. The volume of trade is small: last year it amounted to some R120 million. It consists mainly of Soviet exports to Angola, 98 percent of which consist of machinery and equipment supplied on the basis of commercial credit lines opened by Soviet organizations.

As for Angolan exports to the USSR, they are practically nonexistent. Regrettably, our proposals aimed at developing more balanced trade have to date not come to fruition. This is due to the fact that Angola places all its export products in other markets, mainly Western ones. However we have not given up hope of balancing our trade. We are prepared to offer the Angolan side a wider range of products which more fully takes its requirements into account. Naturally we expect Angola to make its own proposals on exporting to the USSR.

[Announcer] And what can you tell us about Angola's debt to the USSR?

[Burmistrov] I think the time has come for Angola to adopt a more responsible attitude regarding its undertakings vis-a-vis the USSR. This aspect will substantially determine the prospects of our future cooperation, at least in the economic sphere. I think that the Angolan side has resources, for Angola pays its debts to the Western countries on a quite regular basis. We are prepared to consider any Angolan proposals for repayment not just in the form of goods but also of services, for example, to be paid for the Soviet organizations' expenditure in Angola in national currency, to pay for all the services and expenditure of Soviet ships in Angolan ports, or to provide technical maintenance for our aircraft.

Envoy to Kenya Presents Credentials to Moi

LD2408202189 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Nairobi August 24 TASS—The president of Kenya Daniel arap Moi has gone on record for strengthening friendly relations between the USSR and Kenya, for developing multilateral cooperation between the two states. Accepting here the credentials of the new Soviet ambassador to Kenya Vladimir Kitayev, he stressed that relations between the two countries had fine, longstanding traditions. The president evaluated positively the deep-going reforms carried out in the Soviet Union, the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR.

Touching on the international situation, Daniel arap Moi noted the need of constructively seeking in the United Nations of ways to settle existing global and regional problems.

'Oppression' in Somalia Topic of Commentary

EA2508193489 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 24 Aug 89

[From "World Events Today" on the situation in Somalia, by Maksim Yevgenyev—read by announcer]

[Text] Promising events have been taking place recently in the Horn of Africa. It appears that the longest civil war there is nearing its end, the war which has been raging in Eritrea, Ethiopia. In addition, the Sudanese Government is seeking a peaceful agreement with the rebels fighting in the south of that country. It is also necessary to recall the most important peace achievement which occurred in this region last year, when the Governments of Somalia and Ethiopia tried to find a solution to the age-old Ogaden crisis.

Unfortunately, however, not all the crises in the region have ended. Recently, reports causing great concern have been coming out of Somalia. According to reports reaching us from Nairobi, hundreds of Somali refugees have crossed daily into Kenya, fleeing fighting between rebels and government troops. As reported in the Western press, the country's crisis reached its climax last month when troops and police clashed with anti- government demonstrators in Mogadishu. The demonstration was sparked off by the arrest of religious leaders and prominent politicians. Dozens of people were killed.

What is saddening is that it was not possible to have an eyewitness account of what happened on that fateful day. Reasons which are known and which concern the security of journalists and diplomats have made it impossible to find out what exactly is happening there. Incomplete reports by news agencies cannot provide a true picture of the events. However, it appears from what we can gather from the reports that oppressive measures have been taken against the opposition. President Siad Barre has already called for the settlement of the crisis in the region. Having taken positive action on the Ogaden crisis, it is unwise for him to complicate his country's problems.

Irrespective of the views hold by the various sides, the fact remains that the Somali National Movement, SNM, has put the government in a critical situation, and, according to the Kenyan daily, THE STANDARD, two hitherto unknown rebel movements known as the Somali Patriotic Movement, SPM, and the Somali Action Front, SAF, have now emerged. These two movements declared that they want the Lower Juba Region given autonomy. All these issues indicate that the armed confrontations going on in the country are widening.

Our commentator Maksim Yevgenyev says that, in his opinion, armed confrontation will never bring a solution for the warring parties. If there is a breakdown of law and order in the country, there is a likelihood of a return to the inter-clan struggle which existed in Somalia in the past. Should this happen, it could be dangerous for the future of the whole country. The only way to end the present crisis is to find a political solution that is acceptable to all parties, and open talks with the opposition. Oppression breeds oppression, and this will move the country further away from a resolution the problems which have been piling up.

East Europe

KGB's Kryuchkov Meets New Polish Premier

LD2608162689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1605 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Aug (TASS)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, today received Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee of State Security, who is in Poland on a working visit.

The same day Vladimir Kryuchkov paid a visit to Wojceich Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic.

General Czeslaw Kiszczak took part in the meeting.

Mazowiecki Receives Soviet Ambassador

LD2508161189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1531 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw 25 Aug (TASS)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish People's Republic Council of Ministers, received the USSR ambassador to Poland, Vladimir Brovikov, who handed him congratulations sent by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Mazowiecki asked him to convey his cordial gratitude and best wishes to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A conversation was held, in the course of which the chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers reaffirmed the continuity of the future government's foreign policy line, particularly with respect to the Warsaw Pact and relations with the Soviet Union. He stressed that Poland attaches great significance to the continuation and development of cooperation with the USSR in all fields, including in the economic sphere. Mazowiecki noted the importance of the restructuring processes in the USSR, not merely for the Soviet Union, but also for Poland.

Mazowiecki View of Polish Situation 'Realistic'

PM2508192189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by APN own correspondent for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "'I Want To Head a Government of All Poles'—Will Poland's New Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Succeed in This?"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—The new relations between the USSR and Poland interest many people. The prime minister considers it necessary to respect the fact that Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact, that ties exist between the neighbors, and that, finally, the Soviet Union is, of course, far from indifferent to what happens west of the Bug [River].

I exchanged a few words with my Polish colleagues on this score. They think it perfectly possible that relations, at least economic relations, will be more specific and businesslike.

If so, it is my personal conviction that this won't be a bad thing at all: There will be fewer myths about the disadvantageousness of relations with the USSR. Our press writes quite a bit about this, but in Poland you increasingly come across the opinion that the eastern neighbor is to blame for many of Poland's misfortunes. I am, of course, talking about what the average, ordinary person thinks, but it is, frankly, unpleasant to hear people claim that the Poles sell ships for rubles to the Soviet Union at a loss, fitting them out with equipment purchased abroad in dollars. Or that today's tragicomic situation with no matches at all in Poland is due to the fact that the USSR has refused to sell them to Poland in breach of an agreement without any financial consequences at all and that Soviet tourists buy up matches in bulk on the Polish black market, paying a ruble a box.

Judging by the new prime minister's statements, he has a very realistic assessment of the situation in Poland, which is not just on the verge of disaster economically but has already virtually collapsed. He does not deny the possibility that his cabinet may in the future lose the confidence of parliament and the people. Everything will be decided by the economy.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki hopes to complete the formation of his cabinet before August is out. He maintains the position that all political forces operating in parliament should be part of it. That is how he sees the concept of a broad parliamentary coalition. The immediate future will show what place representatives of the Polish United Workers Party will occupy in it. The prime minister thinks it would be a mistake to ignore the reformist forces in the party.

After voting in parliament the prime minister found time to drop into his office in Ujazdowskie Avenue. He described the building thus: "It may be rather gloomy there, with small windows and enormous rooms. But I would very much like to remain a human being in that labyrinth," he does have a tougher test in store: He has to try to do something in a country where a problem dogs every step.

PRAVDA Reports on 'Crisis' in Poland

PM2608150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by correspondent A. Starukhin: "Poland Today: A Way Out of the Labyrinth?"]

[Excerpts] People's Poland is going through very taxing times. Changes of government are frequent—the last cabinet did not last a year. There is much talk of economic and political reforms and the achievement of national accord, but meanwhile inflation is gathering momentum, prices are soaring, and the Poles' living standards are consequently declining.

Strikes and protests are no way out of the situation. The ways to get out of this difficult, sometimes extremely intricate labyrinth of socioeconomic problems should be precisely laid out in advance. You won't get any "jams" occurring then along the path of society's development or the path of each individual's life.

Jozef Oleksy, minister for cooperation with trade unions, acknowledged in the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA that "Such a process certainly cannot go on. The time is coming when the government will have to say plainly that further strikes aimed at forcing an increase in wages are nonsensical. The leaders of political and trade union forces will not for long be able to play the role of the directors and exponents of the processes taking place. They will simply lose control over those processes." The weakening of links between the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and the Democratic Party [SD], in other words, the collapse of the ruling coalition, was regarded by the minister as the potential inception of a dangerous process for the country.

But clearly everything would be far more tranquil if the prices' spring were not so tightly coiled. And in this regard, I think, Rajmund Moric, chairman of the miners' union, has expressed himself most precisely.

"The protests are taking place because of the destabilization of political and social life and the rise in prices. I register my disapproval of the political forces of both sides, which have thus far been unable to make up a government of national hope."

And it was difficult to disagree with him. Both sides must account to their compatriots equally for their homeland's present and future. The opposition has, after all, been invited before to take part in the government of the state, and now it has come to government itself. The Sejm has just appointed as chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a 62-year-old politician who is a well-known journalist and one of "Solidarity's" leaders. Speaking in Gdansk shortly before this, he said aphoristically that the country does not need a prime minister, it needs bread. I would like to wish the prime minister that his succinct phrase be actually transformed into the paramount task of the new government's cabinet and that it become thereby a cabinet of "national hope."

Yes, Poland is going through anxious and extremely difficult time. There is disquiet not just in labor collectives but also within the ranks of politicians and in party committees and ministerial and departmental offices. The discussion and disputes in the "upper echelons," beginning at Sejm level, are not painless either. Some people are demanding that yesterday's government be held to account before a constitutional tribunal for the aggravated collapse of the economy. Others demand that the republic minister of finances and chairman of the Polish National Bank be punished for gross violation of the law resulting in the state budget deficit being tripled in past months. Others, ultraextremists, are anxious to read the "last rites" over the PZPR, arguing that it is finally isolated and has been abandoned by its coalition partners, the ZSL and SD. History, the people, and time will assess and judge everything that is happening and put everything in its proper place. However, one should not right now discount the fact that the PZPR is a party of more than 2 million Communists and remains the leading force in society, that it has always worked and acted for the benefit of the people, has repeatedly extricated the country from deep troughs of crisis, and has been the herald of all progressive reforms.

But the opposition is already demanding that the PZPR's rights be comprehensively restricted and that it be deprived of its social and political influence to the maximum extent. In particular, there are increasingly loud voices which say that the mass media should be completely outside the PZPR's sphere of influence. Matters have reached the point where the extreme opposition's "couriers" try to buy up the latest issue of TRYBUNA LUDU in the mornings, and only a few copies reach some news stands.

And yet the party has not laid down its arms, has not forsaken and is not forsaking its noble and necessary mission to renew socialism, achieve national accord, and transform the economy. At the 14th Plenum the PZPR Central Committee and its first secretary, M. Rakowski, urged the party, the people, and all forces sharing the policy of national accord to close ranks even more tightly and to act even more persistently and productively on behalf of socialist Poland's future prosperity.

After analyzing the situation in the country and the party's actions, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo stressed at its Tuesday session that the opportunity which is opening up of forming a government in which all interested forces will be represented is in accord with repeated PZPR propsals.

The call to act and bring about specific positive changes and the further activity of a party which is, incidentally, undergoing its own reformation—all this will possibly mark the most tangible step toward expediting a way out of these labyrinthine corridors of grave crisis.

Strikes Continue in Poland; Situation 'Tense'

LD2608154689 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 26 TASS—The current economic situation in Poland is tense and difficult. Well-grounded labour disputes, conflicts and strikes are only adding to the economic chaos, making it more difficult to find a way out of the deep economic crisis, the Federation of Polish Metal Workers' Unions said in a statement spread by the PAP News Agency.

The formation of a new government with participation of all political forces presented in the Polish Parliament have a wide public response and raises hopes for the future. "We wish to create conditions for effective work to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his government and suggest that a six-month moratorium be introduced," the federation said.

"Taking into account the Polish national interests, we are calling on all Polish work collectives for calm and restraint. We consider all strikes and social protests to be unadvisable in the new political situation," said a statement adopted at a meeting of the Solidarity regional organising committee in Lodz. It was attended by representatives of more than 130 plant organisations.

Strikes have been called off or suspended in some regions, including the Andropol cotton mills in the Bielskie Voivodship. Newspaper sellers in Olsztyn have also ended the strike after signing an agreement with the authorities.

But, despite all positive signs, the social situation in Poland is complicated. The workers of the Lodz-Olechowa railway shed are still on strike. They have been joined by other workers of the Lodz railway. Only international passenger trains, trains carrying children returning from their summer vacation and freight trains with perishable goods are being serviced.

Situation in Poland as Viewed by Soviet Union

LD2708191989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1410 GMT 27 Aug 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin; video report from Warsaw by correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov]

[Text] [Shishlin] Now to discuss matters that are a little closer to us. I am thinking of the political changes in Poland. You know that there is a new prime minister, head of the Council of Ministers, in Poland now, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The overwhelming majority of the Polish Sejm voted for him. The formation of the cabinet is now under way in Poland, but in actual fact the changes have already happened. This is the new Polish reality, and it must be accepted as a reality.

[Ulyanov] The television camera can by no means always depict profound social changes. It is hard to notice these changes in the external appearance of the capital of Poland, Warsaw, too, unless it is that there are a few more lines at stores, prices have gone up, and here and there signs with the Solidarity emblem have appeared. Now they are hanging there officially; no one tears them down or scrapes them off as happened at the beginning of the eighties, when this trade union was only just being born.

Actually today no one calls Solidarity a trade union, unless it is at those enterprises where it exists. The leaders of Solidarity say that it is a public movement. But does the name matter? What is important is that it is appearing on the political scene with its own aims and its own tasks, along with the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], the Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party. [video shows street scenes, with Solidarity emblem featured widely]

I remember that once you said that if Solidarity won the elections, you would start to change the social system in Poland. What do you have in mind? This is a question we posed to Jan Litynski, one of the leaders of Solidarity.

[Begin recording] [Litynski, Solidarity Sejm deputy, identified by caption; in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] The changes are already taking place. First and foremost they are profound changes in the nature of implementing state power. The new prime minister is a person closely connected with Solidarity, one of the Solidarity advisers, who in his activity has always stressed the role of that organisation. That means changes in the functioning of society as a whole. I think that regardless of what our system is called, these changes are of a principled nature. Poland is embarking on a new path of development. Our prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, stressed in his conversation with Sejm deputies that we are entering a period of parliamentary development. This is for the first time in 45 years.

It is extremely significant that these changes took place very fast. I think that there is every chance for us to achieve success.

[Ulyanov] We Soviet journalists are naturally interested in your attitude to Polish-Soviet contacts. After all, there exists a whole series of joint treaties and organizations—the Warsaw Treaty, CEMA, and others. What is new here in the current situation?

[Litynski] I would like to stress that the USSR and Poland are going down the same road. The policy of the current Soviet leadership—the policy of de-Stalinization—is the same road down which Poland is going now. I see great possibilities on this path to deepen our cooperation. It would be irresponsible political adventurism to speak of Poland withdrawing from the Warsaw Treaty, or of breaking ties with the Soviet Union.

At the same time, it is beyond doubt that our relations cannot rest on the old Stalinist principles. The Soviet leaders are stressing this in their speeches. The attitude of the Soviet leaders to the latest events in Poland confirm this position yet again, and show that Polish-Soviet relations must be equal, relying on the support of all of Polish society.

It seems to me that this can be implemented now. I am convinced that in the future our economic relations with your country will be mutually advantageous ones. For us this is extremely important. [video shows Litynski being interviewed in an unidentified public place] [end recording]

[Ulyanov] You noticed Jan Litynski's remarks that Janusz [as heard] Mazowiecki represents broad circles of Solidarity, that he was an adviser to Solidarity. His appearance in the political arena is certainly not by chance. He is not a person there by chance. Even representatives of Solidarity themselves call him an opposition member with 30 years in the business. I would say that he is a person who belongs to the Solidarity nomenklatura. Incidentally, Solidarity came out precisely against the nomenklatura when it was criticizing the PZPR.

But Mazowiecki is not only one of the leaders of Solidarity. The Polish press, and especially the Catholic press, is writing that the new prime minister is connected with the church, with the Vatican, with the pope. How do you interpret the word connected? We put our question to Jerzy Dambrowski, deputy secretary of the Episcopate Council.

[Begin recording] [Bishop Dambrowski, in Polish with superimposed Russian transation] I think that it is referring to the fact that Mazowiecki is well known to both the Polish Cardinal Glemp and the bishops and the pope. He used to work as the editor of a Catholic magazine, and I would say in general that he is a supporter of the church. [video shows interview being conducted in an office]

[Ulyanov] What is the place of the church in general in the new structure of social forces?

[Dambrowski] The church has always occupied a certain place in society, inasfar as our society is a Catholic one, and therefore we are not at all surprised that our current prime minister is Catholic. Of course, a difficult situation has now arisen for the PZPR, which has always appointed not only the prime ministers but the whole government as well. Now it has to act differently. That is a demand of life.

What these changes in society will look like, time will show. I think that the main thing now is to involve all the people in labor activity, to act so that concern for the state and responsibility for economic and social progress should be everyone's affair. This is very important for us. [end recording]

[Ulyanov] To judge from opinion polls, the majority of the people of Poland support the new prime minister. They all think that the economic situation in the country will change for the better. The economy was always at the forefront, but man is not fed by bread alone. There are quite a few people in Poland who are seriously worried at the new prospects. Solidarity is asserting, justly, many people think, that it is time to put some order into the economy, that it is time to use various mechanisms more widely. But won't that lead to unemployment? Not only in industry, but also among the intelligentsia, among journalists? Won't solidarity demand the elimination of party organization in enterprises?

[Begin recording] [Ulyanov] How does the PZPR evaluate the election of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of prime minister? [video shows Ulyanov in office]

[Leszek Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, identified by caption; in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] We believe that this is the continuation of the concept of a grand coalition government, if of course the PZPR is represented in the government. I would like to stress that we were the ones who put forward the idea of a grand coalition. The question of who would become prime minister was not discussed. It was a question of all the forces represented in parliament being represented in the government as well. Now all kinds of talks and consultations are going on. The decision of the PZPR Central Committee stresses that our party is willing to support this government and do everything to ensure that it functions successfully, because success for the new government means success for Poland. At the same time, the party, can be responsible for what happens in the country only to the extent to which we are represented in the government. In other words, our responsibility will correspond to our degree of representation in the government.

[Ulyanov] A totally new situation has now arisen in the country. For the first time a representative of the opposition heads the government. How does the party see its place in society in this period?

[Miller] I would like to draw attention to the fact that the situation is, indeed, rather unusual. If all political forces are represented in our leading bodies, then there will, in effect, be no opposition as such, and the Sejm will be witout an opposition and all the forces represented in it will have their representatives in the government.

[Ulyanov] That, too, is not a very good thing.

[Miller] Well, of course, it is not a very good thing, although, as you know, there are political groupings in Poland that do not have representatives in the Sejm. These are the so-called nonparliamentary opposition. All this creates a completely new arrangement of political forces in the country.

Until now, for many years, as a party we have believed that certain matters are obvious, for example, appointment to the post of prime minister and to other important state posts. Now, for the first time in many many years, it turns out that this is not so obvious at all. Now it is obvious that the leading role is not given from above and cannot be the result of directives. It has to be fought for. One has to gain the kind of support and sympathy for society that will allow one, by relying on this support, to carry out this leading role. In the immediate future, this is the primary task for us.

[Ulyanov] How does the party evaluate, at present, the stance of the United Peasants Party and the Democratic Party?

[Miller] Their stances were resolutely censured in the decision of the PZPR Central Committee. I also support this evaluation. The joint agreement was violated. At a session of the roundtable, we concluded a contract the essence of which was that the coalition of the PZPR, the Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party was not an opportunist phenomenon for a certain period. We started from the premise that it was a permanent element of the political life of Poland until the next elections which were to be held in 4 years. Regardless of what representatives of the Peasants and Democratic Parties are saying now, and how they are reacting, everyone who is acquainted with the decisions adopted at the roundtable session cannot deny that the agreement was violated. However, we cannot, of course, play the role of an offended widow who is angry because her admirer has left her and for this reason, in this new situation, we want to cooperate with all those members of the peasants and Democratic Parties who hold to the views of this agreement and to the coalition obligations.

We have many interesting forms of cooperation at the most varied levels, and in different areas. It would be a very bad thing if such cooperation collapsed.

[Ulyanov] Summing up our conversation, I would like to ask, is there not a tragic aspect to the situation that has emerged?

[Miller] Frankly speaking, I believe, like many people in Poland, that anything at all could happen in Poland. When I came to the first session of the roundtable, and I was one of its participants, I believed that the roundtable and all the revolutionary processes in Poland were only a chance, but not a guarantee. How this chance is made use of depends on all of us living in Poland. Either the processes now under way will lead to complete disruption, to a social explosion and to events I am afraid to even contemplate, or Poland will come out of the crisis, out of the economic abyss in which we have found ourselves. There are elements of tragedy in this, but also elements of hope. I cannot say today which of these two elements will prevail. [end recording]

[Ulyanov] Three people, representing the three main political forces now functioning in Poland, have taken part in our reportage: Solidarity, the church, and the PZPR. We have asked each of them a question about the country's future but no one could give an answer that was in any way certain. Events are developing too fast and at times unpredictably.

[Shishlin] Poland is our close neighbor and ally, and of course, we cannot be indifferent to what is happening in this country. We evaluate the political and economic situation in Poland soberly, and of course, the economic crisis in this country, and the political disorder have become dragged out. Inflation is raging and what Poland needs now is good, businesslike cooperation between all the political forces: the PZPR, Solidarity, the church, the United Peasants Party, and the Democratic Party—in a word, all the political forces that exist in this country. Poland, of course, needs accord and not confrontation. The question is often asked now, especially by foreign journalists: how does the Soviet Union regard these changes, what stance will the Soviet Union take? There is already an answer to this question. It is expressed in the telegram of greetings sent by the Council of Ministers of our country to Tadeusz Mazowiecki which expresses confidence that cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union will strengthen on the basis of respect for sovereignty, mutual responsibility, and mutual respect. In general, it should be said that Polish affairs are Polish affairs and it is for our Polish comrades to deal with them.

We have been and will remain amicable and friendly with regard to Poland. We will remain loyal to our relations as an ally with this country, clearly aware of course that these friendly relations have always been and can be the fruit of bilateral efforts. We should remember history, see history, without omissions, see both the light and shade in this history, and at the same time, while remembering the past, we must think about the future.

Kondrashov Examines Polish Political Situation

LD2508191189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—Political Observer Aleksandr Kondrashov writes:

First the possibility, and now the very fact of the appointment of a "Solidarity" representative as head of the Polish government continues to excite the attention of the Western press. It is with conflicting feelings, in which concern is a clearly experienced, that the public of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, is also perceiving the development of events in Poland. It is, indeed, an important event, unprecedented in the direct sense of the word. Never before in the history of the socialist countries have the ruling parties entrusted the right to form the government to forces of the former opposition.

Nonetheless, this must not be called a sensational surprise. In my view, such an outcome could have been predicted a year ago, when the Polish leadership proclaimed its course of national accord and the outlines of the "round table" talks began to be delineated. So there probably is a certain amount of superfluous dramatization, both in the triumphant declarations from the West about "the loss of power by the Communists," and in the apprehensions of "an inevitable loss by Poland of its socialist nature."

In spite of the regrouping of political forces and the vacillations in public support, bringing Poland out of the economic crisis remains a nationwide imperative. No group interest or ambition, political maneuvers, or unrealistic promise will override this task. The need for national accord in order to resolve the most difficult Polish problems, a need recognized, and one may even say suffered, by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] a year ago, today is becoming even more urgent. This concerns "Solidarity" in full measure, too.

Therefore, the idea of a grand coalition, in one form or another, which was also put forward by the PZPR leadership, remains the best way of implementing the idea of national accord in practice. Life itself, in fact, demonstrates that such a choice is objectively the natural one. The ideas put forward previously by some leaders of the former opposition, namely for forming a government without the participation of the PZPR, turned out to be merely instances of taking political soundings. The plans for setting up a government hostile to the PZPR would have been all the more unrealistic. As a result of the last turbulent weeks, Poland now is coming to what the PZPR called for immediately after the parliamentary elections: a grand coalition government in which PZPR representatives will occupy the places corresponding to the party's position in Polish society.

Everyone, of course, is worried by the prognoses for the future development of events in Poland. However, guessing about the further peripeties of the country's internal political life is a useless task. However, taking into account the imperative facing the country to surmount the crisis as rapidly as possible, the new government will be able to attain this only by operating within the framework of constructiveness and creativeness, not by negation and confrontation. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first statements by Tadeusz Mazowiecki gave voice to the intention to observe the fundamental alliances and treaties of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], and to maintain goodneighborly and friendly relations with the USSR. The Soviet Government also has expressed its readiness for the development of such relations with the PPR.

I think the main condition for the stable development of Poland in the immediate future would be the confirmation in practice of the declarations of constructive cooperation between "Solidarity" and the PZPR which have been heard in recent days. For any other approach, such as, the calls resounding in certain political circles" to dismiss a million communists from their jobs," for example, can lead only to an exacerbation of confrontation. In such an instance, it simply would be impossible for the country to get out of the crisis.

In light of this, the elaboration at the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum of the party's position—a document which points out directly the need to take account of the PZPR's political potential in forming the new government and the impermissibility of putting the fundamental principles of the existing system in Poland in doubt—appears utterly justified. While expressing a desire to bear joint responsibility for extricating the country from the difficult situation, the PZPR also is entitled to count on guarantees of constructiveness and goodwill on the part of other political forces.

Yes, roles in society are changing considerably, and the PZPR's tasks are changing too. The task of the party's political campaign for its aims, positions, and principles must grow in present conditions. Although this thesis gave rise to disapproval from other political forces, they must see that this political struggle is directed toward defending not only party interests and principles, but those of the whole nation, the ideals of Polish society and its historic achievements. Finally, this is a struggle for the continuation of democratic changes, for the reform and renewal of which the PZPR was, in fact, the initiator.

Jaruzelski Thanks Gorbachev for Congratulations

LD2508174289 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland, in a return message to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, has thanked for congratulations on the occasion of his election to the top state post.

Jaruzelski's message stressed the invariable aspiration to strengthen allied relations and close cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, and between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

Vorotnikov Leads Delegation to Slovakia

LD2608144589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] A USSR party and government delegation led by Comrade Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has arrived in the town of Banska Bystrica in central Slovakia. The delegation is to take part in statewide festivities to mark the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising.

Addresses Slovak Uprising Rally

LD2608193989 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Prague August 26 TASS—The Slovak National uprising was one of the major anti-Nazi revolts during the Second World War. The international nature of anti-Hitler resistance movement was patentialy manifested in it, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Vitaliy Vorotnikov, president of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Supreme

Soviet, stated in his address at a gathering in Banska Bystrica devoted to the 45th anniversary of the Slovak uprising. Vorotnikov today attended the gathering as head of a Soviet party and government delegation.

He greeted the fraternal Czechoslovak people on the occasion and stressed that the sincerity, openness and business-like nature of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are highly appraised in the Soviet Union. The results of regular meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Milos Jakes vividly confirm the consonance of the aspirations shared by our parties and our nations, Vorotnikov said. They open up new vista and impart new impulses to a comprehensive expansion of Soviet-Czechoslovak interaction.

Our efforts to demilitarize, democratize and humanize international relations directly ensue from the policy of perestroyka, Vorotnikov continued. The Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union has laid down in law the fundamentals and prnciples of the Soviet state's foreign policy in accordance with new political thinking and placed it under people's control. In this way, we have pledged guarantees to ourselves, our allies and all those with whom we deal on the world scene that our foreign policy course will be predictable, clear-cut and aimed at promoting peace and cooperation.

Of course, giving an objective assessment of the situation, we cannot help seeing that our progress toward peace has not yet become irreversible. It has not yet reached the point after which the force of inertia, in a positive sense of the term, begins to work. The mentality of confrontation has not yet been overcome and its material base has not yet been dismantled.

On the same day, a friendly meeting took place in Banska Bystrica between Milos Jakes and Vitaliy Vorotnikov. During a cordial talk, an exchange of opinions on the course of restructuring in the economic and social fields of the two countries and information about steps toward resolving the major issues, especially in the economy, took place.

Delegation Departs

LD2608194389 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Prague August 26 TASS—A Soviet party and government delegation headed by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, left Banska Bystrica for home today.

The delegation had attended the celebrations of the 45th anniverary of the Slovak national uprising.

At the Sliac Airport, the Soviet delegation was seen off by Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, and other officials.

Leaders Greet CSSR Counterparts on Anniversary

LD2808154889 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government have greeted the Czechoslovak leaders on the 45th anniversary of the Slovakian national uprising.

The Soviet leaders praised the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Mutual desire to make the bilateral relations more dynamic and find new cooperation forms is in line with these good traditions and the basic interests of the two peoples. It also helps increase the efficiency of operation in the political, economic and spiritual spheres, the telegram of greetings said.

Chairman Nyers Summer University Speech Reported

PM2408135189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Summer University Open"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 Aug—"Following the path of reforms—Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] for socialism" was the theme of the speech by MSZMP Chairman R. Nyers at the party's summer university, which opened on Monday in the city of Tata in northern Hungary.

The MSZMP, he said, is faced with the task of making as many voters as possible aware of the need to correctly assess public movements and parties, know what to expect of them, and by what criteria to elect them.

Around 900 MSZMP activists have come to the university for summer study from all over the country. They will be exchanging experience on shaping public opinion and will acquire new skills in propagandizing the political content of the MSZMP's activities. University students will be significantly helped by lectures by well-known specialists on topical questions of domestic and foreign policy and contemporary issues of the Hungarian government's economic activity and they will analyze the situation at the roundtable talks with the opposition. All the MSZMP university students—district, city, and megye committee personnel—will attend classes during leave.

Nyers Discusses MSZMP, Elections

PM2808142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Means of Consolidation"]

[Text] Budapest, 26 Aug—At the "roundtable" talks with the opposition there is no certainty of reaching agreement but there are possibilities for this, R. Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

[MSZMP], stressed in Kecskemet in southern Hungary at a meeting to nominate delegates to the party congress.

He indicated that both rank and file party members and the party leadership realize today that the consolidation of Hungarian society depends primarily on the MSZMP and on whether it finds its niche in political life. This cannot be founded on the former ideology and policy; the party needs renewal. However, MSZMP memebrs must not feel ashamed of the party's past and must learn from this experience.

The speaker was optimistic about the MSZMP's chances in the parliamentary elections, pointing out that it must be taken into account that the party will not be in a monopoly position after the elections and that this is not a terrible situation. However, the MSZMP can remain a crucial force in Hungarian society.

GDR Deputy Premier Soelle Views CEMA Ties

PM2508104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Favor of Broadening Cooperation"]

[Text] Berlin, 23 Aug—Economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA states plays a significant role in the dynamic and stable development of the GDR economy. We believe that joint work with the GDR is of the same importance for the fraternal countries. Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, said this in response to TASS correspondent I. Osinskiy's question.

The GDR, he stressed, advocates the comprehensive deepening of cooperation within the CEMA framework, considering that the diversity of the forms and means of shaping socialist society will increase given the complete coincidence of aims and tasks in individual countries.

The top-priority tasks facing CEMA include making fuller use of the opportunities of scientific and technical progress, introducing new technologies into production, and increasing the competitiveness of socialist states' output on the international market using these technologies. The comprehensive program together with bilateral plans define the most important areas in the activity of each side. The GDR is concentrating its efforts above all on creating key technologies—microelectronics, flexible automation systems, and biotechnology.

The Soviet Union is the GDR's main partner. We have attained a high level of cooperation, above all in the production of microelectronic elements and special technological equipment, and in the sphere of computer equipment and medical instrument making. Cooperation with other socialist countries is coordinated in the same way.

Latin America & Caribbean

Chile Communist Declaration Rejects Amnesty Laws

PY2708033089 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] If a democratic reconstruction cannot be built on revenge, neither can it be built on impunity.

This remark was made by leaders of the PCCh [Communist Party of Chile] during a news conference on 24 August. The PCCh leaders stressed that effective national coexistence depends on discovering the truth and punishing those guilty of human rights violations during the dictatorial regime.

Cristina Ortiz, Broad Party of the Socialist Left, PAIS, candidate for deputy from Nunoa and Providencia; architect Carlos Aldres, legal expert on the role of the Armed Forces; and Professor Mario Benavente released a declaration analyzing the issue of human rights violations and other topics. During the present transition there is a need for a broad dialogue among the various political and social sectors of the country on the role of the Armed Forces, the process of transition, and democracy.

The text of the document read during the news conference is as follows:

There is a broad consensus on the need for a dialogue to define the future role of the Armed Forces and its participation in Chilean politics in the next few months.

The document says the issue is very important for our national life. The issue is to define the role of the Armed Forces in a democracy and for a democracy.

Defense Minister Patricio Carvajal has said a dialogue cannot be held until after the December election, because only then will the real representatives of the various sectors be known.

The document says that the issue is of national importance and should be discussed now. The document states that the issue is not merely a technical one and it cannot be discussed only in academic circles.

The PCCh document says that a definition of the role of the Armed Forces should be the concern of all social organizations and all Chileans. We should stage a broad national debate between civilians and military men, and not a closed-door discussion of the issue as was suggested by some officials.

Nothing justifies postponing this debate, says the declaration read by Cristina Ortiz, Carlos Aldres, and Mario Benavente on 24 August.

Postponing the debate will only add to the uncertainty about some basic requirements for an adequate development of the transition to an effective democracy.

The PCCh believes that democracy cannot exist as long as the Armed Forces takes upon itself the task of guaranteeing the institutional order, and as long as the National Security Council acts as a superpower, above the sovereignty of the people.

Furthermore, a democracy cannot allow the commanders of the various branches of the Armed Forces to decide by themselves if they will continue in their posts until 1998, far beyond the term of a future government. In a democracy, the commanders in chief are named by the authorities elected by the people, and the National Security Council is an advisory council.

The document says it is necessary to dismantle all mechanisms that place the government under the tutelage of the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces should be reorganized to fulfill their democratic roles.

The declaration goes on to say that another issue of concern is the participation of members of the Armed Forces and the security forces in human rights violations. The document says that effective national coexistence depends on investigating the truth and punishing those guilty of violations. The document also says that in no way can the investigations involve the military institutions as a whole. We do not propose an indiscriminate or irresponsible investigation.

The public demands, the Communist leaders said, a full investigation of the cases, particularly those crimes that shocked the people, whether they occurred before or after the promulgation of the 1978 amnesty law. Cases such as the ones involving General Prat Gonzalez and his wife, Orlando Letelier, (Lonquin), the political prisoners who disappeared, those who were arrested and then hanged, or those who were burned—all must be cleared up.

Those cases must be totally cleared up if a healthy democracy is to survive. We are sure the same people are responsible in many cases.

The Communist declaration concludes by saying that inasmuch as the democratic reconstruction cannot be built on revenge, neither can it be built on impunity. We appeal to those officers who are concerned for the dignity of their institutions and the honor of the military profession.

Completely cleansing the military institutions of henchmen and torturers will enable the Armed Forces and security forces to recover honor, internal morality, and prestige. The institutions will then recover the respect and trust of the people, basic conditions for the fulfillment of their undeniable role to defend national sovereignty and national security.

Joint 'Flying Laboratory' in Cuba Planned

LD2408110389 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Havana August 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent Viktor Dmitriyev:

Soviet and Cuban meteorologists are now engaged in preparations for a joint exploration aboard the Soviet "Cyclon" flying laboratory, which was designed on the basis of the An-12 transport plane.

Its test flights are to be held from Cuba's Camaguey Airport for a final check of scientific communications equipment and other instruments aboard one of the world's best flying laboratories.

The preparations are essential, scientists believe, since the "Cyclon" laboratory is to take meteorologists to the epicentre of powerful hurricanes, frequent in the Caribbean Sea. Hurricane studies are one of the main tasks of a group comprising 14 Soviet and 8 Cuban scientists. Most of them already well know the caribbean elements: last autumn they studied the "Gilbert" hurricane, the century's most powerful in those latitudes. Despite the hurricane's great destructive force, the "Cyclon" went to its epicentre several times and collected unique scientific data.

The program also comprises experiments to create rain clouds, designed by Soviet and Cuban scientists in Cuba's eastern province a few years ago.

There will be much work to do, meteorologists say, since increased cyclonic activity in that part of the world is common from August to October and the Caribbean basin is frequently swept by hurricanes.

Castro Thanks Party, Government for Greetings

LD2508210889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the communist party of Cuba [PCC], chairman of the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, has sent a telegram to the CPSU Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers of the USSR expressing his thanks for the fraternal greetings on the 36th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada barracks. I wish to take this opportunity, the message reads, to express to you our willingness to continue tirelessly to work in the interests of improving bilateral cooperation in all spheres and of strengthening the relations of friendship between our peoples.

Political & Social

CPSU Issues Statement on Baltic Situation

PM2708154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Statement on the Position in the Soviet Baltic Republics"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The findings of the commission of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet studying the German-Soviet treaties and their consequences were published in Vilnius on August 22. These treaties were declared illegal and invalid, as were the declaration of the people's Sejm of Lithuania on joining the USSR (July 21, 1940) and the USSR law on admitting the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic into the USSR (3 August 1940).

This was done when a relevant commission of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is yet to finish its work. Incidentally, the commission was set up at the initiative of deputies from Baltic republics, whose representatives take part in it. This was done in disregard of the fact that the final word belongs to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, to which the commission will report its findings.

The statement by the commission of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet is not a special case. It is directly linked with the separatist line which has been purusued in the past months with growing persistence and aggressiveness by certain forces in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Its highpoint came on August 23 when popular fronts and affiliated organisations held a mass action, whose political aim was to incite the peoples of Baltic republics to secede from the Soviet Union.

The CPSU Central Committee sees it as its duty to make the following statement.

The current situation in the Baltic republics is the cause of increasing concern. Developments there affect the vital interests of the entire Soviet people, our entire socialist motherland.

Perestroika paved the way for the rapid growth of the national awareness of peoples, made them confident that they can independently solve the problems of their political, social, economic and cultural life. The national revival of every nation in the great Soviet multinational family, with the use of new possibilities for the free and balanced interaction with other nations of the country, brought about by perestroika, lies in the channel of the policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, is one of the bases for renewing our entire society. The recent highly important measures of fundamental significance aimed at strengthening the sovereignty of union republics and filling them with new and real contents pursue exactly these goals.

The Baltic republics actively joined in the process of deep transformation. Workers' collectives got moving and the intellectual forces of all strata of society became active.

But at a certain stage nationalist, extremist groups took advantage of democracy and openness and gradually began to introduce an unhealthy aspect into the development of events.

Having misappropriated the part of true proponents of the national interests, they, step-by-step, steered the course of affairs toward isolating the Baltic republics from the rest of the country and the disruption of long-standing organically formed links with other Soviet Nations. Their positions became more and more openly extremist and separatist. The anti-socialist and anti-Soviet nature of their projects became evident very soon. In some places, organizations resembling political formations of the bourgeois period and the time of fascist occupation sprang up. Intimidation, sheer deception, and disinformation became the practice, and sometimes outright moral terrorizing and defamation of all who disagreed, all who remained true to internationalism and the idea of an integral Soviet Union. Some of the mass information media served as sources fostering nationalistic attitudes.

Abusing freedom of international relations, nationalist leaders contacted foreign organizations and centers, seeking to involve them in what was in fact the internal affair of their republics and treating them as consultants and advisers, as if people in the West were better aware of the actual needs of the Baltic nations, as if they were guided not by their own open or concealed projects with respect to our country, but were in fact concerned about the Soviet people's welfare.

It came to direct acts of vandalism, mockery of state insignia, desecration of sacred things viewed as inviolable by any decent individual—monuments to those who fell in the civil and great patriotic wars.

Soviet people across the country watched and read with astonishment and bitterness about things that in no way agreed with what they knew of Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian national traditions and would appear deeply insulting to the national character of these people known for their honesty, sobermindedness, and respect for standards of civilized human relationships.

The activity of forces that are destructive, anti-Soviet and anti-national in their core, the atmosphere of nationalism led to the promulgation, at the level of bodies of state authority in the republics, of unconstitutional acts contradicting our state's principles of federation and envisaging discrimination against the non-indigenous population of these republics.

On August 23, 1989, the organizers of the events tried to whip up emotions to a point of actual nationalist hysteria. Slogans foisted upon thousands of people were brimful of animosity toward the Soviet system, Russian people, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Army.

Concern over the the developments in the Baltic republics is felt profoundly across the entire country by people of most diverse nationalities. An ever increasing flow of letters, statements and other information about how seriously concerned at what is going on are Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians themselves and ordinary people uninfected by the virus of nationalism are being received by the Central Committee. Even those involved in mass actions either are not fully aware of, or do not share the projects of the organizers of the anti-Soviet movement and seek in every way to stress their friendly and cordial attitude to the representation of the other peoples and dissociate themselves from and condemn the extremist outbursts and hooligan actions of those who are close to nationalist leaders. Anyway, no calls come from among the common people for disrupting links with other nations of the great country.

This provides an additional proof that the separatist movement reflects neither the interests of the Baltic peoples nor their true national patriotic awareness.

The activities of the nationalist forces have already led to very serious economic losses in the economy of the Baltic republics, as well as to interethnic and social tensions. In some places, a real threat of a civil conflict and mass street clashes which will involve grave consequences has arisen.

Things have gone far. The fate of the Baltic peoples is in serious danger. People should know into what abyss they are being pushed by the nationalist leaders. The consequences could be disastrous for these peoples, if the nationalists managed to achieve their goals. The very viability of the Baltic nations could be called in question.

We should say it openly and with a feeling of responsibility before the Baltic and all Soviet peoples.

Right from the outset the CPSU Central Committee has displayed deep understanding of the specific features of restructuring processes in the Soviet Baltic republics. It saw in time the need for renewal and an influx of fresh people into leadership and helped it act in the spirit of the times, feel the needs and concerns of the people and speed up the solution of urgent socio- economic problems. It seemed that the Baltic leaders managed to find common language with the public and population and gave the right assessment of the possibilities and ways of carrying out transformations with due account of the local national conditions.

It must be said that the leaders of these republics failed to do everything in order to contain the process in the normal channel of perestroika reforms. They failed to stem the negative tendencies, to redress the situation, to uphold the principled positions, to convince people of the harmfulness of the plans and practice of opposition forces. The correct line, consolidating society on an internationalist basis, on nationwide and universal values of perestroika taking maximum account of national peculiarities and requirements, came against obstacles which are yet to be cleared.

One also has to admit that some party committees and functionaries gave in to difficulties and lost heart. Some even began to play up to nationalist sentiments, weakened counteraction to separatist plans.

The situation that arose calls for a deep analysis, real and serious assessment, and resolute urgent measures to clean the perestroika process in the Baltic republics from extremism, destructive and harmful tendencies.

The CPSU Central Committee urgently calls on the peoples of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, all those who cherish their homeland, peace and national accord to realize the full extent and reality of impending disaster, to display responsibility and wisdom at this turn of the history of the entire country.

The Central Committee appeals to the working class, peasants, and those who create the material base of life and are always the first to suffer most of all from social and national upheavals—we need jointly to seek and find a way out of the situation, to stop the hysterical elements and not to give in to nationalist hysteria.

We all share many difficulties. The country and its economy are in a difficult situation. Do not believe those who try to prove that the life of Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians will at once be better off and comfortable once the "migrants are evicted," the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Jews and others who live and work together with you put in an unequal position, the republics "secede from the USSR." This is an obvious lie. This is delusion.

Each republic, each region are linked by thousands of economic, social, cultural, scientific, technological, and simply human ties with others, with the entire country. What will happen if these ties are cut at one fell swoop? It is absolutely clear that none will be better off.

The Baltic republics, which are the first in our country to get the opportunity to organize truly independent management, to go over to self-reliance and cost-accounting, today face the broadest vistas for initiative, innovation, economic development, and better life. Accretions and distortions of the past, which prevented state bodies and the population of the republics from feeling and acting as masters in their house, are being removed.

The CPSU Central Committee hopes that the working class, working people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, who have glorious revolutionary internatinalist traditions of struggle for the happiness of their and all peoples of our great country will say their weighty word this time as well, defend the new revolution and uphold perestroyka.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party is appealing to all intellectuals of the fraternal Baltic nations and calling upon them in this difficult time to be true to their truly lofty spiritual vocation, to their sense of responsibility before nations and the entire country.

The intelligentsia is a repository of goodwill, reason, unity and human concord, but not of animosity, confrontation, humiliation, and insult of others. No grief is another's grief—let us remember this.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addresses a special word of anxiety and hope to you, dear women, mothers and sisters: Are there any concerns in the world that are capable of taking the place of concern for the little ones? For averting all trouble, for ensuring motherly love, attention and humanness of society toward them? Your warm-heartedness, your active kindness, and good sense must help restore in society trust and mutual understanding. It is in your power to have a wholesome effect on the younger generation.

We are addressing this appeal to people's deputies calling upon them to show statesmanlike responsibility and political maturity, to use their authority to help overcome the crisis.

We appeal to the common sense of the peoples of the multinational Soviet Baltic region. It is time, in our common interest, to put an end to the fateful course of events, to come to your senses, go over from confronation to dialogue and a search for difficult but necessary solutions and compromises.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is appealing to all communists of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, to party veterans and those who recently joined their fate with that of the Leninist party: You must set an example of goodwill and human communication and persuade people of the necessity of concord and consolidation.

The Soviet Communist Party is by its very nature a unifying force which is capable of taking into account and integrating healthy national interests in its policy for the international progress of the whole country. It is not without reason that the destructive forces are doing their best to weaken the party, because that would destroy the cohesion of the Soviet peoples and untie hands to those who are being guided by their selfish ends which are far from the true interests of peoples.

Life convinces us of the fact that a nationalities policy in line with the requirements and spirit of restructuring and new thinking is the only way to resolve the negative problems, which have accumulated in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations, and get rid of past mistakes.

The CPSU has submitted the fundamentals of such a policy to a nationwide discussion by publishing its platform on the nationalities issue. The results of this discussion will soon be summed up by a plenum which will also submit its own proposals for consideration of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, the USSR's supreme legislature.

We, communists, are now bearing an extreme responsibility for the fate of our multinational homeland and the Soviet people. Today, as never before, each communist should have the courage to perform concrete deeds, promote party comradeship, build the unity of forces and increae the joint contribution to restructuring without which no national or interethnic [ni natsionalnyy, ni mezhnatsionalnyy] problems can be solved.

The time came for every communist to take a principled party stand and act so that his honor and conscience be clear before the people now and before the coming generations.

This is our common duty today.

Let's preserve the single family of the Soviet peoples and the unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Latvian Party Official on Statement

LD2808092289 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Nobody has remained indifferent to the recently published statement of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on the situation in the Soviet Baltic republics, which says that in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia nationalist groups have taken advantage of democracy and openness. A Radio Moscow correspondent was told that by a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia, Krustynson. She said that the extremists should not be allowed to attain their objectives by using democracy and openness in order to attain their objectives. [sentence as heard]

As was pointed out by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the nationalist hysteria reached its peak when a mass action was held in the three republics on 23 August. Its purpose was to prompt the people in the Baltic Republics to demand separation from the Soviet Union. Slogans of enmity to the Soviet system, to the Russians, to the Soviet Communist Party, and to the Soviet Army were imposed on thousands of people.

As for the leaders of the three republics, they have been unable to keep political processes in the normal channel of the changes going [on] all over the country. The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party has appealed to the common sense of the people in the three republics and called on them to stop in the common interest the fatal course of events and go over from confrontation to a dialoue so as to preserve the single family of the Soviet people.

Sajudis Labels Statement 'Ultimatum'

LD2708135489 Hamburg DPA in German 1317 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] In a preliminary reaction to the attacks made by the CPSU Central Committee, a spokesman for the Lithuanian Movement for

Perestroyka (Sajudis) said in Vilnius that the Lithuanians had not expected anything different after the publications, in PRAVDA in the last few days. The party newspaper had attacked the Sajudis especially sharply several times and accused them of nationalism.

The Sajudis spokesman told the GERMAN PRESS AGENCY (DPA) in Moscow that the Central Committee statement was to be understood as an "ultimatum" to Lithuanian and Estonian Supreme Soviets. The Central Committee had sent a "signal" to the deputies of the republican parliaments to thwart the disputed intended laws on citizenship and elections at their fall sessions.

Lithuanian Deputies Call for Statement

LD2308093289 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Text] We have been informed that a decision on the ongoing processes in the Baltic states recently adopted by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee is largely unknown to the general public. A group of the USSR deputies from Lithuania is determined to appeal to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee for the release of the decision this weekend. This is contained in an official statement issued last Saturday by the Central Committee bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the reform movement Sajudis. Meetings between the party and Sajudis became a regular feature to discuss political situation in Lithuania and topical problems.

Moscow's economic authorities, the meeting noted, are reluctant to give Lithuania full economic independence and this causes great concern among the Lithuanian population. The meeting also said that over recent times central Soviet publications and television broadcasts lash out at the Lithuanian leadership and public movements, the Sajudis movement in particular. The statement notes that even the Politburo members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee do not express their opinions on the Baltic processes. The meeting stressed that an overwhelming majority of Lithuanian Communists and public at large approve of an idea that the Lithuanian Communist Party became independent, with its own program and policies. The Lithuanian people could trust in the first secretary, Algirdas Brazauskas, who showed us the burden of our aspirations.

Recent Baltic Demonstrations, Protests Reported

PM2508120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Roundup of reports by IZVESTIYA own correspondents Leonid Kapelyushnyy (Vilnius), Irina Litvinova (Riga), and Leonid Levitskiy (Tallinn) under the rubric "Direct Link. IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "The Baltic Route"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Excerpts] A protest action against the Soviet-German treaty that was signed 50 years ago took place 23 August in the Baltic republics. Its participants joined hands and stood on the road from Vilnius to Tallinn.

Vilnius—The human chain began on Vilnius' Gediminas Square. A pamphlet circulated by "Sayudis" the day before revealed precisely how it would extend to the Latvian border itself—indicating the precincts and subprecincts responsible for each kilometer of people. [passage omitted].

The organizers and the participants must be given credit—the human chain was impressive. Holding lighted candles (the light was also passed from person to person) and raising their linked hands over their heads, the people took up their positions at the appointed time. Why?

"We do not want this ever to happen again to anyone." "It is my duty to my relatives who suffered repressions." "We want to live in a free Lithuania." "We want a better life and we must be united for this." That is how workers, students, pensioners, and the intelligentsia answered your correspondent. There was no mention of enmity to the "occupiers and foreigners," or to "perfidious Moscow." What is the source of the tension, which hums like an invisible string that has been stretched to the limit and is plucked first by one person, then by another? Whose viewpoint is expressed by the "visual agitation" adorning Gediminas square—offensive slogans and appeals along with garish badges and posters, where the truth is distorted with blackguardly dexterity? Who needed, for instance, to flood the city with badges—stars bearing a swastika in the center and intertwined fascist and Soviet flags bearing a swastika and a hammer and sickle respectively? The city newspaper VECHERNIYE NOVOSTI reproduced a poster published in Estonia showing the feet of someone wearing boots adorned with the swastika and hammer and sickle. They have marched through the dates 1939 and 1989. Significantly space is left for the next one...

Lithuania's inhabitants of various nationalities stood in a human chain over many tens of kilometers of Lithuanian territory. There is no harm in that. And people of various views—which is also natural. The fact that these people have a different understanding of good and evil is much worse. Some 3 hours before the participants in the "Baltic Route" action reached Gediminas Square, a new rally began in Nagornyy [Hill] Park. The League of Free Lithuania and another dozen informal organizations were not merely protesting against the treaty in the far from full amphitheater. The speakers demanded a change of power, the removal of the Communists from Lithuanian Government, and the withdrawal of the troops and others... Whether the Lithuanians who joined the human chain like it or not, the shadow of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian appeals lies over the entire event.

Riga—Our automobile was stopped as we drove out to the Bauska Highway at 1830 hours 23 August. Preparations were under way on Latvian territory for the "Baltic Route" action.

"Slow down, please, let people pass," we were warned by a man wearing an unusual armband. It turned out that he was a member of a detachment made up of mass sociopolitical organizations to preserve public order and set up on the orders of the Latvian People's Front [LPF] Board.

A week ago a LPF pamphlet reported on the progress made in forming People's Front voluntary militia detachments and their functions. "Of course the tasks of these volunteers will be to preserve order at events being held by democratic movements rather than arrest drunks and prostitutes (these are 'tasks purely for the militia')." So the day arrived when help was required from the newly-created detachments. After a short time the People's Front voluntary militia patrols gave us the "green light" and we joined the general convoy of vehicles traveling down the highway. Thousands of Latvia's inhabitants responded to the call from the People's Front: "At 1900 hours 23 August we will confirm in our own eyes and the eyes of the whole world our firm determination to fight for a worthy life for man by linking hands and making a human chain on the territory of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania." The participants in the actions hoisted national flags bearing black ribbons. After 1900 hours a speech by Daynis Ivans, chairman of the LPF and USSR people's deputy, was broadcast on the radio: "For the first time in the existence of the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, we have really formed a united 'Baltic route' under the Baltic sky advocating freedom and independence!"

That evening a rally organized by the Movement for Latvian National Independence was held at the Freedom Monument in Riga. Here are some of the posters raised on the square: "The Restoration of Latvian Independence Is the Solution to the Problems," "We Do Not Have Interethnic Relations But Relations Between Occupiers and Occupied," "Via Citizens' Committees to Statehood for the Latvian Republic." If you like, I will not list the other slogans since they were of a clearly provocative and in many cases offensive nature.

Speeches by certain speakers were not noted for their restraint and propriety. Even blatant appeals for violence met with applause. And this was after speakers at the recent National Independence Movement Congress spoke on several occasions of this organization's commitment to nonviolent actions and parliamentary methods of activity.

The demand put forward at the rally was as follows: "To secure a majority for democratic forces in the upcoming elections to enable them to adopt a decision regarding the unlawfulness of the elections to the so-called People's Sejm 14 and 15 July 1940 and also deem invalid the decree of 21 July that year on the formation of the Latvian SSR and entry into the USSR, which will render unlawful the actual existence of the Latvian SSR." Another proposal was also made: "The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet should lay down its powers and hand over power to new representative structures comprising citizens of the Latvian republic that existed prior to 1940."

Tallinn—The "chain" through Estonia was 211.5 km long and made up of approximately 150,000 people. A people's meeting was held at the same time in Tallinn in connection with the 50th anniversary of the pact. Lagle Parek, member of the Estonian National Independence Party, spoke at it along with Marya Lauristin, one of the leaders of the People's Front and USSR people's deputy; Trivime Veliste, chairman of the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments; and Valeriy Voronin, member of the Russian section of the People's Front. ETA reports that speeches were read out on behalf of Estonians abroad and a U.S. senator. Several thousand people took part in the meeting and it ended with a general prayer and the singing of the Estonian national anthem.

I heard reports on the meeting from the radio in my car en route via Vilyandi to the Estonian-Latvian border where the main rally "Destruction of Evil" was to take place in the evening. The human chain of people carrying national flags and banners condemning the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact also led to this rally.

At 1900 hours republic radio uttered the word that ran down the chain, passed from person to person—"freedom." The leaders of the republic's party and government were also standing in the chain. At 1930 hours A. Ryutel, chairman of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed a gathering at Big Hermann Tower in Tallinn.

...The rally on the border between the two republics lasted for approximately 2 hours. We then waited that length of time for the congestion on the narrow country road to somewhat resolve itself. Red lights stretched out in front in an interminable flickering line. But how everyone now needs a green light—the go-ahead light...

I remembered the words uttered by Ya. Allik, first secretary of the Vilyandiskiy Estonian Communist Party Rayon Committee, a few hours ago:

"Postwar realities cannot be eliminated by a government. A sensible and effective policy ensuring unity for all people living on this territory is necessary. Despite their nationality. We can only build a new free life all together."

Strikes Spread in Moldavia Over Language Law

Factories Join Strike

LD2408165889 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev August 24 TASS—More than fifty factories in Kishinev, Benderi, Rybnitsa, Komrat and other Moldavian cities today joined the strike started by Tiraspol workers on August 21.

The Workers' Alliance of Moldavia, a public organisation uniting councils of work collectives of 192 enterprises, held a meeting in the republican capital, Kishinev, on Wednesday. The overwhelming majority of workers' representatives voted in favour of beginning a republican strike.

The meeting's resolution says that this extraordinary measure has been prompted by the planning discussion at the Moldavian Supreme Soviet session on August 29 of the issue of adopting language laws that would encroach upon the interests and rights of the republic's non-Moldavian population.

The strikers demand that the drafts be adopted only after republic-wide discussion by the new Supreme Soviet of Moldavia to be elected next spring.

The work collectives called for a special plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee to discuss the social and political situation in the republic.

They also requested that the USSR Supreme Soviet set up an ad hoc commission to ascertain the causes of the heightening of inter- ethnic relations in Moldavia and backed the demand of the republic's Gagauz population to form an autonomy before elections to local councils.

The gagauzers are a Turkic minority living in the south of the republic.

PRAVDA Notes Strikes

PM2508112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To Listen to One Another"]

[Text] Kishinev, 24 Aug—By today, collectives from more than 50 plants and factories in Kishinev, Bendery, Rybnitsa, Komrat, and other cities in the republic have joined the strike started by enterprises in the Moldavian city of Tiraspol. Following a decision by labor collective councils, the strike has not been joined by enterprises and organizations ensuring vital activities in population centers and the maintenance of law and order there, or by plants for the processing of incoming agricultural produce.

A meeting of the Moldavian Working People's Union was held in the republic's capital yesterday. This recently created public organization unites labor collective councils from 192 of Moldavia's enterprises. Their representatives called for a republic-wide strike by an overwhelming majority. This was done despite the 17 August Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution declaring such actions contrary to perestroyka processes and calling for a considered approach to the solution of problems and disputed questions.

The resolution adopted by the meeting notes that this extreme measure has been brought about by the republic's Supreme Soviet session on the question of adopting laws on language, scheduled for 29 August. The strikers demand that the draft laws be adopted only after a nationwide discussion and the election of a new Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. The labor collectives advocate the convening of an extraordinary Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum on the sociopolitical situation in the republic. They also addressed a petition to the USSR Supreme Soviet to set up a special commission to clarify the causes of exacerbated interethnic relations in Moldavia and backed the demand by the republic's Gagauz population for the formation of autonomous units prior to the election of local organs of power.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, visited Tiraspol yesterday. He took part in a conference of leaders of the city's party and soviet organs, and called on participants in a spontaneous rally in the square outside the city party committee to return to their work until their demands are examined.

The strikes which are spreading in Moldavia cannot fail to perturb people—they affect the people's interests associated with economic reform and perestroyka. The republic's leadership, the striking workers, and the members of informal organizations operating here must display utmost responsibility in the prevailing critical situation. It is impossible to find solutions which would satisfy everyone, but consensus can and must be achieved.

Railroad Workers Strike

LD2508170289 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev August 25 TASS—More factories joined today businesses already on strike in Soviet Moldavia over the proposed legislation on languages.

Workers of the locomotive shed in the city of Bendery began their working day with a two-hour warning strike. Their action was backed by railwaymen at four other stations.

All the stoppages are due to the disagreement of predominantly non-Moldavian speaking workers with articles of the proposed legislation on languages to be considered by the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, or parliament, on August 29.

A rally in the city of Tiraspol, attended by 50,000 people, adopted an address to the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing Moldavia and deputies of the republican legislature urging them to postpone the adoption of the draft laws until they are thoroughly discussed by the public in Moldavia.

The Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, at a meeting today, discussed the social and political situation in the republic.

The Presidium called on all citizens of the republic to display restraint and a thoughtful and realistic attitude towards the outstanding issues connected with the consideration of the draft language laws.

Supreme Soviet Notes Tensions

LD2508204589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A sitting of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet was held today at which the issue of the sociopolitical situation in the republic was discussed. The decision that was adopted notes, in particular, that actions being mounted in the republic by representatives of spontaneous formations of citizens are getting in the way of work to acquaint the populace with the draft laws in a calm and thorough manner. Irresponsible utterances and appeals that stir up interethnic dissension are being allowed at rallies and meetings. The halting of work at enterprises is intensifying the destabilization of the sociopolitical situation, having a negative influence on the normal functioning of the economic complex, and causing it palpable material damage.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has addressed workers, collective farmers, the intelligentsia, and all citizens of the republic with an urgent appeal to take a restrained, thoughtful, and realistic approach toward tackling the vexing questions associated with an examination of the draft language law.

The republic's corps of deputies has been charged with explaining to the population that the problems raised, and the specific proposals and observations will be examined, in accordance with established procedure, at the forthcoming session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Situation Called 'Acute'

LD2608161689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Aug 89

[IZVESTIYA review]

[Text] Today's edition says that as before one of the central issues remains the solution of the nationality problem. An IZVESTIYA correspondent reports from Kishinev that the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium has turned down the request of thousands of Russian-speaking workers to postpone the republic's Supreme Soviet session, planned for 29 August. The members of the presidium discussed the very acute situation that has come about now in the republic for about 5 hours, yet they nevertheless decided unanimously that it is no longer possible to postpone the session.

The discussion about language has continued for a whole year in the press at assemblies and at meetings. Several alternative draft laws have been discussed. Sociological polls have been held. On Sunday, 27 August, thousands of inhabitants of Moldavia are to come to Kishinev to hold a nationwide gathering, devoted to a long awaited event—the adoption of the law on language. To postpone this session would be to betray these people's expectations. In the opinion of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium, only one compromise solution is possible: to put forward for consideration by the session all the proposals of the workers of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa which concern the question of state language status and the functioning of languages on the territory of Moldavia. In response to this proposal it has been decided in Tiraspol to continue the strike. In Bendery 31 enterprises are striking.

Rallies Held on Language Law

LD2708165289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Aug (TASS)—TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas report:

Many thousand-strong rallies were held in Soviet Moldavia's capital today, at the initiative of the informal associations Moldavian People's Front and internationalist movement "Yedinstvo." The rallies' goal was to bring pressure to bear upon deputies to the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, who on 29 August are to discuss and endorse draft laws relating to the status of the Moldavian language and its return to the Latin alphabet.

Mircha Snegur, chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the participants in the rally held by the Moldavian People's Front at Victory Square. He stressed that investing the Moldavian language with both the status of the state language and that of a language for interethnic communication does not infringe upon the constitutional rights of individuals of any nationalities residing on Moldavia's territory. He called on the republic's citizens to show restraint, thoughtful and realistic approach to solving vexing questions related to the examination of the draft law on languages. "The suspension of work at more than 100 enterprises by labor collectives in Tiraspol, Bendery, Rybnitsa, and Komrat, thereby expressing their disagreement with the draft laws on languages, has had a negative effect on the republic's economy causing it a substantial material damage," Mircha Snegur noted.

The resolution of the "Yedinstvo" internationalist movement stresses, though, that the adoption of these draft laws will infringe upon the interests of almost 40 percent of the republic's population and will lead to discrimination against citizens according to the language principle.

On the same day, in Komrat, a many thousand-strong rally of the "Gagauz Khalky" informal movement was held. Speakers from among representatives of Gagauz nationality, who reside in Moldavia in compact communities, stressed that many articles of the draft laws on languages infringe upon the interests not of Gagauzes alone but also upon those of Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and other nations and ethnic groups. In the resolution adopted, participants in the rally called upon the republican leadership to postpone the adoption of the draft laws and extend their nationwide discussion.

Language Law Reflects Ethnic Divisions

PM2608183589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Eduard Kondratov report: "Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea"]

[Text] Kishinev—The decision of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium to turn down the demand by thousands of Russian-speaking workers that it defer the republic Supreme Soviet session scheduled for 29 August was not an easy one—I can bear witness to that. The Presidium members discussed the very acute situation now prevailing in Moldavia for around 5 hours, and yet they did decide unanimously that the session could be deferred no longer. The language debate—in the press, at meetings, and at rallies—has gone on for an entire year. A few alternative draft laws have been discussed and sociological surveys carried out. The tumultuous, thousands-strong rallies that turned into demonstrations and even mass disturbances were caused in many respects by the endless delaying of a legislative solution of the language problem.

Thousands of Moldavian inhabitants are gathering in Kishinev for Sunday 27 August to hold a nationwide assembly marking the long-awaited event—the adoption of the Law on Language. To cancel the session would be to disappoint the people's expectations.

But is it possible to discount the opinion of thousands of workers who have taken the extreme measure of striking simply in order to be heard and understood? A truly intractable situation has come about. In the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's opinion, only one compromise solution was feasible: To submit for examination at the session all the proposals of the working people of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa concerning the status of the state nature and functioning of languages on Moldavian territory.

As I was told by L. Tsurkan, first secretary of the city party committee, around 30,000 people were tensely awaiting reports from Kishinev on Tiraspol's central square and surrounding streets. The Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidiunm decision not to defer the session plunged the inhabitants of Tiraspol into a state of shock; people refused to believe what they heard. A rally was immediately organized again. Only a speech by USSR People's Deputy A. Dyachenko, who had returned from Kishinev, managed to cool somewhat the charged passions. Despite the impassioned feelings of the participants in the rally, there were no breaches of public order. Members of the city strike committee took care of this.

And how were things in Bendery? I spoke to D. Dobrov, chairman of the strike committee, by phone. He reported that 31 enterprises in the city, that is to say, 20,000 people, were on strike.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium members have now traveled around the republic cities to meet labor collectives. M. Snegur, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, has delivered an address to the citizens of Moldavia on republic television. Newspapers have published the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution "On the Sociopolitical Situation Prevailing in the Republic in Connection with the Publication of the Draft Law on Language."

Deliberation on Language Law Viewed

PM2708174389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 89 First Edition p 8

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report: "Moldavia Today: Day of Decision 24 Hours Away"]

[Text] There was heavy rain and it was appreciably colder in Kishinev early Sunday morning. But the weather did not stop the two streams of people. One mighty river made for the central square of the republic's capital, where at 1200 hours the People's Front of Moldavia [NFM] began its rally. The other stream, akin to a vigorously flowing brook, set off for the bowl of the light athletics training school for a meeting of the "Yedinstvo" ["Unity"] international movement [interdvizheniye]. Both meetings had the same objective: to exert pressure on the deputies of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, who will meet in session the day after tomorrow to adopt decisions of very great importance for the republic and its entire population.

The responsibility of the people's elected representative: Whereas previously this word combination had a purely declarative meaning, today, when power really is passing to the soviets, to the people, each decision by each deputy can be a determining factor for the further socioeconomic and political development of the country or region and have a specific impact on the destinies of the electorate. Therefore, those whose powers have been entrusted to them by the people must weigh and consider everything carefully, they must "measure seven times," as the saying goes, before voting "for" or "against." It is this approach that the voters expect of their deputies Tuesday during the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet's discussion of the draft laws on language.

"We must leave emotions at home and forget about national affiliation," believes I. Zaslavskiy, leader of a team of metalworkers and deputy of the republic's Supreme Soviet. "Reason must be our guide. Reason suggests: In resolving interethnic problems there must be no majority diktat to the minority. This was also mentioned at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies."

However, today many people in the republic lack precisely this high political awareness. Hence at the rally on Kishinev's central square tens of thousands of people who have succumbed to the powerful and protracted influence of the nationalist-inclined ideologues of the People's Front of Moldavia are chanting: "Moldavia for the Moldavians;" "No to the Russian language;" "Russians Out."

National blindness. There is no other definition of what took place Sunday on Kishinev's central square. It seemed that Stephen the Great, who was mentioned in yesterday's article, really will rise from his throne and take up his sword. But he will take it up against those who have brought the republic's population to interethnic dissension, those who, cloaking themselves in the slogans of perestroyka, are pursuing personal ambitious ends and seeking to ride to power on the turbid scum of chauvinism and separatism.

It is a pity that tens of thousands of ordinary people who have a poor understanding of the political realities of the time have fallen under their influence. It is much much more of a pity that party and soviet officials and the republic's mass media are not giving a due rebuff to these nationalist sentiments. With a suspicious unanimity they have rounded only on the international movement, the Russian-speaking population, the striking collectives, accusing them of all the deadly sins, setting public opinion against them, and not even attempting to understand those who express an opposite opinion.

Here is a fresh example. Yesterday Moldavian television carried an item from Kishinev's "Mezon" Plant, the Russian-speaking part of which—and this represents the majority of the enterprise's working people—have decided to call a strike. It would appear that the correspondent ought first of all to have ascertained the opinion of the members of the strike committee, to clarify why they have decided on this extreme measure, and then to voice his own—albeit very negative—attitude to what is going on. But the television gave the right to express its position only to the opposing side. The latter took full advantage: It was shameful to listen to the insults which the speakers at the microphone "conferred" for all the republic to hear on their work comrades with whom they had previously stood at the same machine and had shared their bread and salt. It would appear that the commentator who followed this item ought to be objective and provide a realistic assessment of the events. By no means! After stating that two dozen of the republic's enterprises had failed to meet the 7-month plan, he placed the blame for this on the directors of the striking collectives: allegedly they have been unable to organize production properly and so they are organizing a strike in order to justify their poor performance.

A familiar device which explains everything very simply by automatically shifting the responsibility for the impoverished state of the republic's economy onto the striking Russian-speaking population. Let us introduce some clarity. Many enterprises which have stopped work—such as Tiraspol's "Tochlitmash" Association—have not only fulfilled the plan but have actually exceeded it for all indicators. Moreover, Moldavia's economy has been in an unsatisfactory condition for quite some time and not just since 21 August, when the strike began. But the television commentator kept quiet about this. Why?

I think the answer is simple. The tenor of his speech corresponds very much to what I heard from the lips of Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary I. Gutsu. Ivan Timofeyevich is also not averse to shifting responsibility for the destabilization of the political and economic situation onto the shoulders of the nonindigenous population, as they dub them here, and the directors of the striking enterprises and to reinforcing this opinion in the public mind. Moreover, at meetings with the population senior officials of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and other party organs not only do not explain the real causes of the political strike and discredit those who are carrying it out but they do not balk at disinformation either. For example, both yesterday and the day before party workers told gatherings that the inhabitants of Tiraspol had realized their mistakes and decided to stop their strike from Monday. They assessed the strike itself, to use the words of that same television commentator, as economic sabotage in pursuit of political ends.

That is the kind of atmosphere in which the republic is approaching what is for its population one of the most important sessions of the Supreme Soviet. But at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, judging by Ivan Timofeyevich Gutsu's words, they consider it perfectly democratic and in keeping with the spirit of glasnost and regard the draft laws on language themselves as corresponding to the interests of all nationalities inhabiting Moldavia today.

I will not repeat myself here to the effect that the draft laws submitted for the session's confirmation do nevertheless infringe the rights and dignity of that population within the republic which speaks another language. I will give just one quotation from an article by Doctor of Juridical Sciences V. Yakovlev, a professor from Kishinev.

"From the fact that Moldavians form the majority in the republic and that it is the Moldavian republic they (the leaders of the NMF [as published]—Author) draw the conclusion that it is necessary to grant all kinds of privileges to Moldavians, affording them thereby the opportunity to solve their own social and economic problems by discriminating against and infringing the rights of people of another nationality.

"The attempts to use the levers of state power to force the republic's non-Moldavian pqpulation—more than 1.5 million people—to learn and make daily use of the Romanian language, and the course of enshrining in law a regime of linguistic and other discrimination against national minorities in the sphere of work, official promotion, the opportunity to obtain education, and even in one's personal life (and how else can the feverish demands for mixed marriages to be annulled made at extremist rallies be regarded?) are permeated with a spirit of coercion, with the spirit of Stalinism."

Alas, this opinion, which is held by virtually all the republic population which speaks a different language, is unheeded at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and in other republic state organs. For their part they made an attempt only yesterday to sit down at the negotiating table with representatives of the international movement and the Union of Working People of Moldavia.

"If this had been earlier, if they had taken account of the proposal to grant the Moldavian tongue state language status, while leaving Russian the functions of interethnic contacts within the republic, there would have been no strike," said P. Skrepnichenko, cochairman of the republic strike committee, constituted yesterday. "But they simply ignored us; neither at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee nor at the republic's Supreme Soviet have they appreciated our anxiety over the nonidigenous population's future. But let them know that we will defend our legitimate rights and interests to the end. Otherwise we will simply have to leave Moldavia, which we have thus far thought of as our homeland."

When this issue of PRAVDA comes out there will be only one day left before the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet session. During those 24 hours the deputies should determine their decision on the language problem. They should critically assess not only the opinion of the NFM leaders but that of the 1.5-million-strong nonindigenous population of Moldavia too. it is as follows: In voting for the discriminatory drafts aimed at eliminating the identity of the nationalities inhabiting the republic they are voting for national discord, the isolation of Moldavia, and the violation of its ties with the other fraternal republics. Let every deputy consider whom this benefits.

I am finishing off this article in my hotel and I can hear through my window the nationalist, separatist, and anti-Russian slogans of the NFM leaders' being uttered on the central square. Do people realize what path they are being urged to follow? The answer to this question will be given Tuesday.

Future of Baltic States Questioned

PM2508115489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 89 Second Edition p 8

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko report: "What Does Tomorrow Hold?"]

[Text] Vilnius—From long habit, I bought the local newspapers at the airport. And there was an immediate surprise: The "Findings of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Commission To Study the 1939 German-Soviet Treaties and Their Consequences" were published.

What conclusions have they reached in the republic? I quote:

"Stalinism and Hitlerism destroyed independent states by means of secret deals and aggressive actions. The independence of many of these states was restored, but Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have not gained independence to this day."

"The 21 July 1940 People's Sejm 'Declaration on Lithuania's Entry Into the USSR' and the 3 August 1940 USSR Supreme Soviet USSR Law on the Admission of the Lithuanian SSR to the USSR are unlawful."

The reader may wonder: What is this republican commission, when was it set up, and to what extent is it authorized to make such statements, when the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which is the highest organ of state power, has itself formed a commission on the political and legal evaluation of the 1939 Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact? And let us add that this commission also includes people's deputies from Lithuania.

I admit I asked myself these questions too. I found the answer in the PRAVDA interview (18 August 1989) with the chairman of the Congress of People's Deputies commission, A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. After stating that the commission's work is not yet complete, he stressed the need for a very thorough study of this complex question, taking into account all the factors of that exceptionally contradictory period and remaining firmly rooted in unprejudiced historicism. Otherwise the past will remain with us for a long time as ballast hampering efforts to transform all aspects of Soviet society's life.

It seems that some people in Lithuania failed to hear this warning of the dangers of hasty conclusions. The haste with which the republic Supreme Soviet commission, which was only formed on 18 July, published its findings confirms this. And, as was only to be expected, it played into the hands of the forces that are dragging the Lithuanian people into confrontation with the USSR and the other republics.

I am not saying that without foundation. On the day the statement was published, 22 August, a Sajudis rally involving many thousands of people was held in Kalnu Park in Vilnius. The speakers, drawing on the conclusions of the republican commission and condemning the 1939 accord, called outright for the secession of the Lithuanian SSR from the USSR and the separation of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the CPSU. Furthermore, one speaker described the declaration on the sovereignty of the Lithuanian SSR of 18 May this year a deception. Another supplied the theoretical basis for this: Russia, he said, suffers pathologically from imperial thinking, it was never noted for democracy and tolerance, and has always been concerned only with occupying other people's territories. The speeches were even more trenchant at the 23 August rally, which was held by the recently organized Lithuanian Independence Union—it includes organizations of a nationalist and antisocialist thrust, such as the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Lithuanian Democrats Party, and others. To convey the atmosphere of the rally, I will cite just a few of the posters and banners that formed the background to it: "USSR-Empire—Out of Lithuania!" "Down with the CPSU!" "Russian Occupiers, Go Home!" "Stop Socialism in Lithuania!"...

At Gediminas Tower, which was also decked with these slogans, a woman of about 50 came up to us:

"Are you from Moscow? Tell me what to do. I have been living in Lithuania for 30 years. I have given my life to my work... I have worked conscientiously. And now—this is my reward. Some thugs broke the windows in my summerhouse and killed the fruit trees. They are driving out the Russians with all kinds of threats—it is becoming impossible for us to live here. I found an apartment exchange, but they will not give me permission: They say, you can only exchange apartments with Lithuanians."

The woman was crying. She refused to give her name: She was afraid. Later workers from the "Zhalgiris" Machine Building Plant told us about similar instances of discrimination against non-Lithuanian speakers, and also asked us not to mention their names.

I cannot help recalling the speeches by people's deputies from the Baltic region, and in particular Lithuania, at the Congress and at the USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, when they insisted that the majority should not ignore the minority. And their opinion was heeded! But when it comes to the observance of the constitutional rights of Russians, Belorussians, Poles, and representatives of other nationalities (who account for 20 percent of the population of Lithuania!), no one remembers tolerance toward the minority. True, Sajudis has recently apparently changed its tactics drastically: It is ostentatiously demonstrating its commitment to "achieving national consensus." But there have been such assurances before! And they did not in the least coincide with Sajudis' actual policy. Incidentally, a recent example of "dual policy": TASS news photographer Dmitriy Sokolov went to the Lithuanian news agency, ELTA, to develop his film. His Lithuanian colleague V. Gulevich, after glancing at the material already developed, suddenly wrenched a third film from the tank of developer.

"You cannot film that! It discredits us!" Gulevich shouted.

The exposed film showed aspects of the rallies in Kalnu Park, the damaged pedestal of the monument to Soviet liberator servicemen in Kaunas, and the "T-34" tank that was pushed from the pedestal and taken to the garbage heap.

What is that, if it is not one-sided glasnost?

A difficult question. An open division of the forces of the indigenous and the non-Lithuanian speaking population is currently in progress in the republic. Where will this lead? And do all Lithuanians support the idea of Lithuania's secession from the USSR? Judging by conversations in the republic, yes, many do. But by no means all. Sober-minded politicains, scientists, workers in culture and art, party, soviet, and economic leaders, and workers realize that breaking off political and economic ties with the USSR is fraught with unpredictable consequences for Lithuania's economy and its true sovereignty.

So why is their voice so weak? Why has the right to form public opinion in the republic been arrogated by those who are dissatisfied with the present status of the Lithuanian SSR? There are many reasons for this. I will mention only those that are, so to speak, self-evident. First, the newly emerged leaders of national isolationism have succeeded in deceiving—let us not look for synonyms—people by concealing their true objectives, in the initial stage, behind a screen of slogans in support of M.S. Gorbachev's perestroyka. Second, a part was played by mistakes in interethnic relations, the flouting of the union republics' rights, and the diktat of the center, the ministries and departments. Often Moscow's consent was needed to resolve the most trivial question. Third, the republic party organization has in the last 18 months or so basically been avoiding the political struggle and showing signs of confusion, appeasement, and inability and sometimes unwillingness resolutely to rebuff those who kindle the flames of interethnic strife. Fourth, there is the moral and physical terrorism against those people who do not agree with extremist positions. At the same time many people are prepared to oppose the separatist forces. But they are afraid tha they will not meet with due support, including the support of party organs. I had a difficult conversation on this subject with V. Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. Acknowledging the complexity of the political situation in the republic and the marked decline in the party's authority, Valerionas Stasevich nevertheless made serious complaints against the center. In his opinion, the center should define more clearly and resolutely its own opinion on what is happening in the union republics, including Lithuania. It is primarily a question of the desire of certain groupings to divide the union of fraternal republics into national apartments and to isolate the republics. And after that, so it is said, work will be easier for the local party organs too.

I think this position is nothing but an attempt to shift the responsibility onto other, higher shoulders, or, to put it more simply, onto the CPSU Central Committee. But that is not why perestroyka is in progress; the rights and autonomy of republics and autonomous formations are not being extended in order to return to authoritarian diktat by the center again.

Doubtless the republican party leaders themselves should express their position more clearly, offer a convincing perestroyka program at local level, and communicate it to all Communists and the broadest strata of the population. This has yet to happen. What, for instance, are people to think about the position of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, when two of its secretaries, as members of the republic Supreme Soviet commission, signed its statement on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, while the commission itself was headed by a member of the republic Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Yu. Pozhela, president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences? Or how are people to assess the fact that Yu. Paletskis, chief of a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee department, as PRAVDA has already reported, signed a "communique" in Sweden, together with leaders of the reactionary Lithuanian emigre community and Lithuanian nationalist organizations, in which demands are basically made for the republic's secession from the USSR?

Many people in Lithuania are now asking themselves these questions. And, alas, finding no answers. The lack of clarity in the position of the republic's leaders is plain to see.

...In the evening of 23 August in Vilnius, and in the whole of the Baltic region, events to mark the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Nonaggression Pact between the USSR and Germany and to condemn its consequences continued. Thousands of people gathered at Gediminas Tower. Linking hands, they formed a human chain stretching from Vilnius to Tallinn. So much energy, so much passion, human effort—what are we spending them on? Where is the Baltic going, what does tomorrow hold for it and for our union?

Moscow Deputies Appeal to Estonian Counterparts

LD2508152189 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Deputies of Moscow's Sverdlov Region Council have addressed an appeal to people's deputies of Estonia "in defence of justice, in defence of the Soviet constitution and the rights of thousands upon thousands of Russian-speaking citizens of Estonia."

The appeal, published in the newspaper SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA today, urges the Estonian deputies to find a way out of the dangerous situation in the republic as soon as possible.

"The problem of inter-ethnic relations and human rights in Estonia has recently taken an unacceptable turn for a civilised state. The recently adopted laws on language and election are discriminatory, contradict the Soviet Constitution and run counter to international legal acts, a commitment to which the Soviet Union has announced at supreme international forums. The residence requirement in its 'Estonian variant' is a legal anachronism."

The Moscow deputies noted that Estonia and the Baltic republics on the whole were active from the very first days of perestroika in developing democratisation and glasnost. At the same time they followed with alarm how the voices of all manner of extremists gained in strength, how extreme nationalism started to claim the status of a political movement not without success. Unfortunately, the laws passed in Estonia boosted these unworthy claims.

"There are neither occupiers, nor colonisers nor second-grade people under the sky of Estonia and should never be. Undoubtedly, people who sincerely love Estonia and respect the customs, traditions and culture of Estonians, who have made a considerable contribution to the development of the republic, live on this land. Encroaching on their rights today means diregarding the laws of Soviet internationalism, going against conscience and honour," the appeal notes "Deputies are responsible before the past and future, before old men and children, that every territory and republic will grow stronger, prosper and not founder in insoluble contradictions."

Striking Estonian Enterprises Profiled

18001540 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY correspondents V. Tsion and V. Syrnikov]

[Text]**The "Elamu" Project-construction Association**

The lowered barrier gate in front of the entrance to the grounds of the Myanik grouped association. At an angle is a poster: "Strike." This means that the shops of the enterprise where panels and construction materials are made for the houses being built in the city have shut down. This means that the construction workers left without building materials are also forced to stop work...

Crossing the workers' picket line proved not to be a simple thing. The fellow on duty at the entry studied my ID for some time, and then, after persistent requests, went to inform the strike committee of the journalist's arrival. A "Volga" rolled up while I awaited his return: V. Saluste, first secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon party committee has arrived. Along with him and other raykom [rayon committee] officials, I managed to get into the grounds.

Further on, within the association's strike committee, a detailed discussion about the republic's political situation and the collective's internal problems was taking place. More than a few problems have accumulated, especially in recent years. The enterprise is feverish. With the halt in the entry of the labor force into the republic, "Elamu" has literally been suffocating from the dearth of personnel, especially qualified specialists. The regulations for receiving housing have been tightened, and housing is one of the construction workers' main stimuli; otherwise, who would go into this difficult, low-paid line of work? The decision on the matter of construction of supplemental children's institutions has been in the making for almost 10 years, but there is no way that it will come about. The prospects for the enterprise's further development are unclear: What will be built in Tallinn a year or two from now, and how? And a multitude of other problems great and small which demand immediate decisions.

All of these facts, plus the republic's heightened national contradictions, have impelled the housing construction workers to join the strikers. Strike committee members emphasized that the warning strike bears first and foremost a political nature, even though the workers' resolution also includes socioeconomic demands.

The strikers complained of the lack of attention to their needs and problems on the part of the republic's guiding organs, and spoke of the growing mistrust toward the government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.

It was resolved to call off the strike upon beginning negotiations with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia.
V. Tsion, ETA [Estonian Telegraph Agency]

The "Baltic Manufacturing" Combine

On 27 July, this collective also joined the striking enterprises. A workers' meeting took place in the morning; there, the majority of votes adopted a resolution to support the appeal of the republic's strike committee and join the strikers.

Representatives of the works and sectors met at the profkom [trade union committee] at noon to brief the strike committee, which was working out the collective's demands as well.

It was awkward for V. Tochilin, master of cable production, who was managing this meeting. To the question as to whether he was the head of the strike committee, he replied that he was not heading the committee, that the combine's strike committee had been created back in March, but that its chairman was now on vacation. So there is a need to start everything over again. And breaking off his conversation with the correspondent, he asked those gathered:

"Who else wants to join the committee? Even people who have not agreed to strike may register, since they might offer some sound ideas and share their thoughts with us."

No one responded to this appeal, and a woman sitting off to the side mentioned that the lists of candidates to the strike committee had been compiled at the lines and sectors, and that these lists must be found and merged into one.

The door bursts open. A man calls out the question as he crosses the threshold:

"The compressors have been started up, are we going to start up a section of the preparatory line?"

V. Tochilin's face shows confusion. It seems that the preliminary agreement was to strike until 1400, and at 1400 to convene a regular meeting to ascertain whether the strike would be continued or called off. If we are going to say that that is enough, then the preparatory line must begin work right now, and if not, then work must be stopped completely...

"Start up, and we'll sort it out later," was the reply.

The door burst open again. It is a woman this time. She is wondering if the pensioners and the vocational education students should be allowed to go home. Another hitch....

"As an engineer, I say that there's no need to strike at all, with such a hole in the combine's pocket! We're not getting out of overtime as it is," temperamentally argues a young woman from the profkom. "How are we going to pay those who refuse to strike? The shops are without electricity, they can't turn out products, even though they want to work."

"We'll transfer them to other sectors; they can work there," answers V. Tochilin.

And again they continue to narrow down who will be on the strike committee.

"May I ask you all a few questions," I inquire of all those present.

"Please, go ahead."

"Only try to answer them honestly and openly. Do you feel that your strike is well prepared?"

"No, it's somewhat spontaneous. In any event, at our enterprise, it is not well prepared."

"Then my next question: Do you consider the strike to be timely?"

The responses here were not so unanimous. Some said, not completely; others said, no; only one of the workers let out a categorical "Yes!"

"Please explain your position; why do you say yes?"

"Afterwards, it could be too late."

"When, afterwards?"

"When they adopt the law on elections to local soviets."

And when will they adopt the law?"

"Probably in 2 or 3 weeks."

"So perhaps it would be more logical to wait a bit? After all, they made a concession to you, they postponed the final decision. As for you...?"

"We are in solidarity with those who are now on strike. And then our strike is a warning. We want to show that we can also start a serious strike. And this is a warning strike..."

At the 1400 meeting, a resolution was adopted to continue the strike until the beginning of negotiations between the republic's leadership and representatives of the republic's strike committee and social movements.
V. Tsion, ETA

Tallinn Commodities Station

The striking railroad workers introduced five terse demands into their resolution:

"1. To remove from consideration by the 12th session of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] the Estonian SSR draft law on elections to local soviets.

"2. To open the reworked draft law to general discussion.

"3. To prohibit the activity of the citizens' committees of Estonia.

"4. To ensure our participation in the development of the most important draft laws.

"5. To halt the action of the Estonian SSR Law on Language until conditions are created for its application.

"The strike will be called off after the beginning of negotiations between the republic's leadership and the strike committee."

Yu. Kuznetsov, crane operator and strike committee chairman, told the ETA correspondent of the reasons for and the development of the strike:

"The republic's guiding organs left the demands set forth on 14 March and 21 July unattended. We all waited for results patiently, but we could not wait it out. Therefore, this morning (27 July), at 0800, we held a meeting and resolved that we would begin a political strike."

Correspondent: "As far as I know, in foreign countries, they prepare carefully for strikes, they provide material, financial, and technical support. What were your preparations for the strike like?"

"Let's be frank; our strike is spontaneous, but monolithic. People have agreed to lose wages. But as for morale, we were all prepared for the strike."

Correspondent: Apparently, the past few days a great deal of cargo in need of processing has piled up on the tracks to the commodities station. Cargo continues to arrive.
V. Tsion, ETA

The Strike—Another View

On 26 July, a general plant meeting took place at the I. Lauristin machine building plant. The enterprise's collective adopted a resolution to conduct a one-hour strike starting at 1400. A temporary strike committee was created.

Extremely diverse opinions as to the continuation of the strike were expressed at the meeting. A significant portion of the labor collective supported the opinion of the plant administration on the inadvisability of a prolonged strike. The ETA correspondent asked the plant's party committee deputy secretary N. Konoplev to comment on the events.

"Taking the enterprise's complex economic situation into consideration, many of our workers feel that in order to show our solidarity with the workers of striking enterprises, it is sufficient to be limited to 1-hour strikes. The continuation of the strike not only will not change the situation which has come about, but will exacerbate it. There is also another opinion: strike until victory. For the time being, it is hard to say whom the majority backs. Toward this end, discussion is being held today, 27 July, in the shops and subdivisions of the temporary strike committees."

The opinion of the majority of members of the plant's temporary strike committee was expressed by S. Gubanov, engineer-metallurgist, strike committee headquarters staffer.

"We attempted to approach the issue in as balanced a manner as possible, and today we have made a compromise decision to return to work, having conducted a one-hour strike. Continuation of the strike will lead to nothing other than anarchy at the enterprise. We feel that it is not worth heating up the situation in the city and the republic; it is already tense without a strike. In our view, it is absolutely absurd to see a strike through to a victorious finish. To the finish of what? Most likely, to our economic finish, that is, to the plant's complete financial disaster. However, since the opinions at our enterprise were sharply divided, we decided to conduct a general plant discussion.
V. Syrnikov, ETA

Estonian Deputy Premier on Economic Independence

LD2408210289 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Edgar Savisaar, deputy premier of Estonia, member of the leadership of the Popular Front, warns against expecting too much from the economic independence program. In an interview with Finnish radio in Tallinn, Savisaar says that the program is mainly aimed at stopping economic recession and a crisis. The implementation of the program will start at the beginning of next year. From Tallinn, Antti Halinen: [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Halinen] The implementation of the program should be started at the beginning of next year and that will not be an easy task.

[Savisaar in Estonian fading into Finnish translation] The Estonian economy is in deep crisis. However, with the economic independence program, IME, it will not be possible to create a happy, superabundant society with a divining rod. This has been promised many times to the

Estonians, but the promise has been mere illusion. The aim of IME at this stage is mainly to stop the economic recession and crisis.

During the past week, the Soviet party paper PRAVDA and the Russian Writers Association have strongly criticized Estonia. There is nothing new in the criticism as such, because there has been opposition to many initiatives made by the Estonians and some of them have even been turned down completely, but then little by little they have been approved, like the economic independence program.

During this week there has been a lot of talk here in Tallinn about the possibilities of a more independent, self-supporting Estonia. The independence aspirations will be taken as far as circumstances will permit. You can take the thought of independence away from an Estonian only by cuting off his head. [end recording]

Latvian People's Front Schedules 27 Aug Meeting

LD2708165189 Riga in Latvian to Europe
2000 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] As already reported tonight in the Television Panorama, the People's Front of Latvia requests the USSR people's deputies from Latvia and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies to go at 1600 tomorrow, 27 August, to the house of the People's Front of Latvia dome at 13-15 Vecpilsetas Iela.

Latvian Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

Vagris Addresses Plenum

PM2508120089 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 1, 2, 3

[LATINFORM account of "Report by Ya.Ya. Vagris," first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, at a plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee in Riga on 10 August 1989]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, plenum members, and guests! The processes of society's radical perestroyka are inexorably deepening. Events in the past few months, especially the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet's first session, marked what was essentially a new turning point in the implementation of the policy of perestroyka.

A major step forward was taken in our republic at the 12th session of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, current convocation. The Declaration of Latvia's State Sovereignty, the Law on the Latvian SSR's Economic Autonomy, and the corresponding amendments to the Constitution created a new situation: We ourselves have to decide our republic's future and take on the responsibility for it.

The first steps indicate that the desire of the Baltic Soviet Socialist Republics to acquire sovereignty and to give this sovereignty real economic, social, legal, and political content is meeting with understanding and support in the USSR Supreme Soviet. Of course, debates are taking place and there are different points of view but, on the whole, there has been positive appraisal of our proposals to switch to republican economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], self-management, and self-financing on the basis of equivalent interrepublican exchange beginning in January next year.

The Estonian and Lithuanian SSR's have already adopted appropriate laws on economic autonomy. The USSR Supreme Soviet session will examine our proposals this fall, and I think that there are grounds for supposing that the decisions will be positive. But this is only the beginning. It is still necessary to elaborate a mechanism for the implementation of these proposals.

The republican government has prepared a draft treaty between the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Council of Ministers, and it has been adopted for examination by the USSR State Planning Committee. Initial reports on the course of this scrutiny are positive on the whole, but it must be realized that a lot of hard and persistent work lies ahead as regards the coordination of mutual interests. Preparatory work is also being done on draft laws on local self-management, the budget, and taxation, draft laws on banks and money circulation, on leasing, and several others.

But even that will not be enough. Laws and decisions are capable of changing the real state of affairs only when people in every settlement, in every rayon, and in every labor collective are completely clear as to what new elements will be brought to their lives and in what manner by economic autonomy and proclaimed sovereignty. But letters from Communists and numerous meetings in the republic's rayons indicate that we are still far removed from such clarity. I think that the immediate task of Communists working in the republic's Council of Ministers and Supreme Soviet Presidium is to elaborate as soon as possible a clear and precise state program for the practical implementation of laws adopted by the July session.

I think that we are entitled to state unambiguously: The Latvian Communist Party as society's vanguard has been assigned a special role in the implementation of our republic's sovereignty.

The process of the fundamental renewal of socialism in our country has reached a point where any further advance presupposes a serious breakthrough actually in the party's perestroyka. Today we have gathered at a plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee in order to openly lay down, in a principled fashion and jointly with the broad party aktiv, the basic guidelines of the Latvian Communist Party's future political activity.

Thousands of Communists and nonparty people took part in preparatory work for this plenum. Meetings were held in primary party organizations and labor collectives, as were plenums of party rayon committees [raykoms] and city committees [gorkoms] and party aktiv meetings.

Material under the rubric "In Preparation for the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum" occupied a prominent position in the mass media. The Central Committee received a large number of individual and collective letters, meeting decisions, announcements, resolutions, and ultimatums. Once they were summed up, we ended up with more than 2,000 proposals which formed the basis of the draft program for the Latvian Communist Party's political activity "What the Latvian Communist Party Striving For," which was published 22 July.

Proposals were also drafted and published by a group of raykom and gorkom first secretaries from Kurzeme and Vidzeme, party leaders from Latgale District, and a group of party committee secretaries from Riga enterprises and organizations, as well as other party officials and scientists.

It must be emphasized that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau does not perceive the various drafts as mutually exclusive. We also said this just before the plenum, when we met the authors of all published drafts. Each one of the drafts contains many constructive proposals as well as debatable elements. They indicate the real existence of diverse points of view on how to solve our common fundamental problems.

It is our duty to debate all proposals and to elaborate a common coordinated point of view which will be expressed in the Latvian Communist Party's action program to be approved. I therefore invite all plenum participants to a principled debate rather than a competition of drafts on the principle of "either mine or no one's."

At the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev proposed that the scheduled 28th party congress be convened already at the end of 1990. I think that party organizations will support this proposal. That will mean that the scheduled 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress should be convened in the fall of 1990. It can be said that this plenum and the formulation of problems submitted for its discussion mark the beginning of the republican party organization's preparations for its scheduled congress, and this is a substantial political aspect to be borne in mind when discussing sociopolitical processes in the republic, determining the program of our political actions for the period until the scheduled congress, and launching a principled debate on many questions of vital importance for the party, a final decision on which will have to be made at the 25th Latvian Communist Party Congress.

Therefore, the Central Committee Bureau does not deem it its task to use this report for a detailed analysis of everything, as was usually done in the past. Our aim is to map out fundamental approaches toward the most important questions, to indicate different points of view, and, wherever necessary, to emphasize our own attitude.

The points of view and proposals are indeed very different, even polarized, but nonetheless we must arrive at a common denominator here at the plenum. Let us begin with the fact that the debate before the plenum clearly identified the fundamental principles which, in Communists' opinion, could provide such a common denominator, namely: We must promote the democratic development of socialism on the basis of the conclusions of Marxist-Leninist theory and methodology, rejecting the restoration of capitalism in both its past and present form.

We must advocate Latvia's sovereignty within a union of equal republics based on stable treaty relations.

We must ensure the profound perestroyka of social relations and of party, political, and economic structures:

—our policy and actions must focus on concern for man, on man's legal guarantees and his material and spiritual prosperity.

It must be said that the conference on questions of perestroyka within the party, held in the CPSU Central Committee 18 July, is fundamentally important for the solution of the question on our agenda.

The conference clearly revealed the coincidence between our proposals and the stance taken by the champions of radical democratization of intraparty life, with M.S. Gorbachev also speaking definitely in favor of it. Let us go no further than the fundamental question of the status of union republic communist parties. The CPSU Statutes currently in force do not even contain such a section. Party membership cards have not even mentioned it since 1973. Unification and centralization are still widespread in intraparty life. It is perfectly clear that it is necessary to change the old practice since it does not conform with the tasks of the policy of perestroyka, but opinions differ as to how and in which direction this is to be done.

The directives of the aforementioned conference and other materials indicate that the party Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo have given deserved attention to the proposals by communist parties from the Baltic republics about defining the status of union republic communist parties with due consideration for national and regional peculiarities and about expanding the autonomy of republican party organs in the implementation of cadre policy, the improvement of intraparty life, the definition of party organs' structure and staffing, and the running of finance and budget matters.

I think you would agree that we have taken the correct path on this fundamental issue.

The major attention given to primary party organizations during the debate which was launched prior to the plenum is also fully justified.

The logic of political leadership is and will remain extremely simple—the vanguard role of Communists is expressed in specific action at a specific place, and it begins with an active life stance within the collective's primary party organization. With the ability to rally people and uphold their vital interests openly, in a principled and energetic fashion.

During the polemics which preceded the plenum, the greatest number of lances were broken over the question of how the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee assesses in its documents the sociopolitical processes in the republic and the activity of informal movements and the mass media.

The situations which develop are almost paradoxical. Even though the Latvian People's Front Duma stressed in its statement that "the Latvian Communist Party's rejection of its monopoly of power and ideology is a substantial prerequisite for Latvia's social democratization," it vigilantly ensures that not a single measure taken by the Interfront evades condemnation by the Central Committee. Exactly the same ought to be said about the Interfront's demands as regards the activeness of the People's Front.

For example, Ogrskiy party Raykom proposed that the Central Committee should altogether abandon evaluations and lecturing, but many others demand that effective evaluations should be made of every trivial occurrence.

On the whole, demands that the Central Committee Bureau should evaluate all sociopolitical events are contained in approximately two-thirds of letters received by the Central Committee, and this cannot be ignored.

I believe that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau must certainly provide an evaluation of serious sociopolitical processes in the republic, but the time has come to put an end to the practice of "grading" every event organized by formal or informal organizations.

There were many complaints and proposals regarding the work of the mass media, covering, moreover, an exceptionally broad range. Some people see a cause for reproach in what others praise. Many comrades, especially Central Committee members, note that the mass media often offer a one-sided coverage of events, only from the positions of either one of the fronts, and that this has diminished the party's influence on the press.

Of course, the Central Committee Bureau is aware of the weak spots in the work of our press, television, and radio, the insufficient competence of some journalists, the lack of constructiveness, the chase for sensationalism, the manifestations of opportunism. But we can no longer use administrative methods in leadership of the mass media. It is necessary to learn to conduct political work in conditions of pluralism of opinions and viewpoints.

We have to admit that our successes in this sphere are quite modest. It is necessary to immediately seek out and apply the levers of genuine political dialogue. We must be much more demanding toward Communists working in the mass media, and especially their leaders. Relations between society, the party, and the press must be shaped democratically and openly, in the interests of the policy of perestroyka.

M.S. Gorbachev explained this in his 18 July report. Let me repeat the main idea: "There can be no concessions on questions of principle. There is a political line and main guidelines which ought to define the orientation of the press. As for the rest, Communists and nonparty people working in various press organs, publications, or editorial offices must have complete creative freedom, must exercise the right to raise problems and to uphold and defend their stance, and must generally act creatively and responsibly." I think that, when debating the relevant problems, we ought to be guided by this approach.

Unfortunately, the polemics which preceded the plenum gave relatively little attention to questions of intraparty life. But only the democratization of party life, glasnost, and purposeful actions will help us overcome the deep-rooted view held by a section of the population that the party is an hierarchical bureaucratic organization which issues and "hands down" directives, that it alone is in charge of all affairs of state and society.

The Central Committee also received numerous proposals on the need to amend the CPSU Statutes. Naturally, the party statutes must reflect all substantial changes effected in intraparty life and in the party's relations with society by the process of perestroyka.

There are no grounds for doubting the need for the principle of democratic centralism. That is the cornerstone principle of party building, without which intraparty discipline, dynamism, and fruitful activity are impossible. Without it the party will turn into a debating club. There is no doubt that the principle of democratic centralism must be freed from Stalin's deformations and must be given a new content to meet the demands of perestroyka. Special attention must be given to the democratic potential infused into this principle by V.I. Lenin.

Proposals on amendments to the CPSU Statute are still coming in. We are generalizing them and will pass them on to the CPSU Central Committee by 1 September.

Just one more example. There is a sharp divergence of opinions on the question of leaving the party. Some Communists recognize nothing but expulsion. Others believe that anyone who has personally arrived at the substantiated conclusion that he is incapable of fulfilling the party program and statutes must be given an opportunity to freely leave the CPSU. But the authors of most proposals believe that this question must be resolved by the party organization itself in each specific case, emphasizing just one point: If a CPSU member's activity contradicts the party statutes and program, he should be liable to expulsion from its ranks. I think that this formulation of the question can be accepted.

Comrades! The broad debate and the items published in the press confirm yet again that social activeness in the republic is presently focused essentially on two problems: The ways and possibilities for implementing Latvia's sovereignty, and the Latvian Communist Party's position in society and its future development prospects.

Different approaches toward the perception of these problems are more and more clearly discernible in the views and activity of various sociopolitical organizations and movements, and also in the debates in which they engage.

Even though this is going to be just a rough approximation, in order to more fully comprehend the situation it is probably necessary to speak about those representing three different points of view, to be found not only in the Latvian Communist Party ranks but also among the republic's public as a whole.

First, we have party members and nonparty people who consider that any democratic steps today are, to say the least, a deviation from socialist principles.

From the socioeconomic point of view, this group largely comprises those who are incapable of imagining themselves within a system of radically restructured production relations. In turn, their real professional qualifications and their level of social experience are such that, to all intents and purposes, they are essentially prevented from laying claim to an improvement or at least the maintenance of their present highly stable social status and material position in the new conditions.

As far as the bearers of these views are concerned it is not so much their ignorance, but rather the feeling that the revolutionary perestroyka is objectively turning into an ideological downfall, that they are witnessing the demolition of stereotypes which prevailed for decades, which induces uncertainty and political hysteria, because fundamental principles are apparently being demolished, and a desire to solve existing political problems by the "firm hand" method.

These sentiments and this nostalgia for authoritarian methods, which can often be observed also among party and economic cadres, are also backed by quite a few residents of the republic, and this reality must be taken into account in practical politics.

So much for the first point of view. Now a few words about the second, which is diametrically opposite.

Recently there has been a noticeable galvanization of public strata, including within the Communist Party, which is in the grips of a sharply radical mood. Calls to force the pace of events while disregarding historical, political, and economic realities have become especially popular among them. They absolutize the national aspect to a considerable extent and set it in opposition to social and economic aspects.

The representatives of these views are now banking on two factors. The first is the idea of implementing Latvia's full economic and political independence outside the USSR statehood. The second is the demand to immediately create and constitutionally guarantee a multiparty system as a legal foundation for their efforts to remove the Latvian Communist Party from the positions of political vanguard in the republic.

Nor can it be denied that a certain proportion of the republic's population has developed in its mind an illusory hope that it will be possible to easily and swiftly achieve considerable changes for the better in the economy and to raise living standards immediately after secession from the Soviet Union. That is why calls of this kind enjoy a certain popularity.

The stance of people who have sunk into national euphoria can be understood in purely human terms, because many negative aspects of our life generate indignation which is emotionally forceful and largely justified. But can emotions today be used as an argument when deciding the future of our people and the entire republic? It is impossible to erase entire decades from history and to nostalgically dream of a return to prewar Latvia. The world has radically changed in the intervening period and Latvia itself has changed.

The policy of perestroyka is the path toward a new quality of socialism, and we cannot advance along this path while constantly looking backward.

It is necessary to emphasize the enormous political responsibility before the people which is taken on by those who deny in principle that the Latvian SSR today has any signs of being a state, who appraise the declaration of Soviet Latvia's sovereignty as an attempt "to legitimize an illegitimate occupation authority," who proclaim a "struggle to the end" and immediately label anyone who thinks differently a traitor to the people's interests.

We Communists and, I am sure, every real patriot of the republic, find unacceptable and will not accept such a demonstration of selfish political ambitions, speculation with the positive values of national awakening and perestroyka, and statements against the will of the people, as expressed by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputies, to transform their republic into a genuinely sovereign rule-of-law state.

The third group within the spectrum of sociopolitical forces comprises those residents of the republic who reject both conservative and leftwing radical views and declarations.

They are convinced that society can be led out of the economic crisis and political instability only by radical and far-reaching transformations in economic life, in politics, and in the spiritual sphere. They realize that the people's vitally important interests are served by a thoroughly prepared and consistently implemented transition from the administrative-bureaucratic model of society to a rule-of-law state and parliamentary democracy.

There can be no question that this transition can be achieved not on the basis of the deformed relations between center and republic which prevailed for decades but on the basis of practically implemented state sovereignty of Latvia while really giving a new and definite meaning to the principles of the Soviet federation which were only proclaimed hitherto.

That is how we perceive the highly complex and swiftly changing background of sociopolitical processes in the debate about the Latvian Communist Party's role and its position in the future perestroyka of the republic's life.

It must be self-critically admitted that the Latvian Communist Party has lived through certain difficulties over the past few years, and these difficulties complicate the processes of perestroyka in the republic to a certain extent. The Latvian Communist Party senses the crisis as regards its former functions and its obsolete style and methods of work. Various manifestations of this crisis often place the party in a position where it has to "catch up" and prevent it from marching in step with the processes which occur in society and actively influencing them.

When defining the guidelines for reform of the party, it is important to define the starting positions.

The Communist Party's basic task in a socialist society is to express and uphold not just the interests of one section of society or another, but the vital interests of the entire society.

No matter how self-critically we view the way the party actually performed these functions in the conditions of Stalinism and stagnation, the best proof of how the party perceives and implements its basic task lies in the elaboration of the policy of perestroyka and the struggle for its implementation.

A certain idea of the party's links with society can be gleaned from an analysis of some data on the composition of the Latvian Communist Party's indicators. It shows that all social strata which make up Latvian society are basically represented in the party. We are not totally satisfied with this representation, this must be self-critically admitted, but at the same time it is impossible not to perceive that this representation is more meaningful than in any of the newly created sociopolitical organizations or movements.

The republican party organization has approximately 182,000 full and candidate members. They can be grouped as follows along professional lines: 31.2 percent are workers (including 10.5 percent who are state farm workers), 9.8 percent are collective farm members, 44.5 percent are employees (including 36.4 percent who are engineering and technical staff workers), 0.2 percent are university students or full-time students at various education establishments, and 13.4 percent are not working, and mainly pensioners.

The national composition of the republican party organization also reflects the national structure of Soviet Latvia's residents much more accurately than any new sociopolitical organization. Some 39.7 percent of full and candidate party members are Letts, 43.1 percent are Russians, 17.2 percent are Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, Poles, and representatives of other nationalities.

Naturally, these figures prompt reflections that the dialectics of the party's organic ties and relations with all society need substantial improvement, and this is one of the tasks of the party's perestroyka.

Democratization and the rehabilitation of Lenin's principles of party building are associated with the need to free ourselves openly and in a principled fashion from the myths and stereotypes created by the administrative-edict system. Look no further than what would seem to be the perfectly clear question of the dialectics of relations between the working class and the party. Without denying the leading role of the working class, we cannot fail to perceive that it is not monolithic today. But we still equate those who would have done well if they had spent a couple of years strolling along an enterprise's corridors, and those whose working life has been inseparably linked for generations with the creation of material wealth in the conditions of large-scale socialist production. Add to this the efforts by the unjustifiably swollen administrative-bureaucratic sphere comprising representatives of various monitoring, accounting, and other suchlike services to rank themselves as genuine representatives and defenders of the working class, often for no other reason than they are also "associated with production."

But a common place of work—major modern production complexes and associations—is by no means a guarantee of either common social experience or class awareness.

The interests of society's radical renewal firmly demand that, in the process of the party's perestroyka, we overcome the simplistic ideas about relations between the party and the whole of society, which serve formal statistical interests.

Otherwise we cannot advance, we will be hindered by stereotypes in our own thinking and attitudes. They considerably complicate the situation. For example, they promote the emergence of various splittist and demagogical sentiments both in the party and in society. For example, they give the Interfront grounds for proclaiming itself the sole and genuine defender of the interests of Latvia's working people, while the People's Front, in turn, proclaims itself to be the sole defender of the Lettish people.

Society is thus split, and the social aspect is groundlessly set in opposition to the national.

I think that we must make joint efforts to rid ourselves of dogmatic abstractions and of attempts, to paraphrase Raynis, to "sing a new song to an old tune."

Comrades! One of the substantial questions of the republic party organization's perestroyka is to clarify the status of the limits of the Latvian Communist Party's autonomy as the political vanguard of a sovereign national republic.

The viewpoint of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat is expressed in basic outline in the published draft with which all those present are already familiar.

We perceive somewhat different approaches in other drafts. Therefore, I shall not repeat what you already know well but shall dwell on individual questions which, in my opinion, are of fundamental importance.

To begin with, about the Latvian Communist Party's status in general. We associate our approach toward this question with a return to Lenin's principles. V.I. Lenin considered union republic communist parties and their leadership organs to be important centers of party leadership, steadfast in their tactical activity. In V.I. Lenin's concept, they were to determine the optimal structure of their organization by themselves, within the framework of uniform principles of party building. They freely created their apparatus and formed their staffs. They published their own party publications, determining their print runs and other aspects of their activity. They set up scientific research institutions and centers for cadre training and improvement of qualifications in order to satisfy their specific needs on the basis of the common principles governing party education and cadre training.

Today the CPSU must solve a fundamental problem—how to implement the party's strategic line of perestroyka in such different conditions in the republics and regions. The first 4 years of perestroyka have clearly proved that centralized and unified administrative-bureaucratic prescriptions are not suitable.

It is also clear, however, and everyone must realize, that our action program must stem from the basic principles of the CPSU Program and Statutes, that it cannot run contrary to the values of Marxist-Leninist world philosophy and the ideas of the perestroyka policy. The stance of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on this question can be expressed as follows:

—we categorically reject conservative attempts to preserve unchanged the administrative-bureaucratic supercentralized sphere of party building and the party's internal life;

—we also reject charges of separatism, national exclusiveness, and destruction of party unity. Party unity has never been creative and fruitful when it has been based on the absolutism of a single center or a single Leader, on the blocking of initiative and the worship of unquestioning obedience;

—we shall be guided by Lenin's principle of freedom of opinions and unity of actions. I wish to emphasize this: "Unity of actions" but not "uniformity";

—we are, without any doubt, in favor of the party's unity as the political vanguard of the whole of Soviet society, but we shall struggle to achieve this by observing freedom of debate, deepening and upholding democratism and openness in party life, and consciously subordinating this to evaluation and democratic monitoring by the whole of society;

—but we equally firmly advocate unity of actions by party members in the process of fulfilling democratically adopted decisions and advocate the consolidation of conscientious and comradely party discipline and Communists' responsibility.

Thus, only a real freedom of debate and equally real and cohesive joint work to fulfill adopted decisions constitute the dialectics of the party's existence, the condition for effective political activity. That is unambiguous.

When solving the problem of party unity, equal importance attaches to what is known as the "internal aspect"—questions of the unity of the Latvian Communist Party's ranks.

The almost avalanche-like formation of new social and sociopolitical organizations and informal groups and movements is a direct expression of the processes of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost. The largest among them—the People's Front, the Interfront, the Union of Latvian Agricultural Workers [selskokhozyaystvennikov]—have rapidly become a serious political force.

These new formations have been joined by many Communists, and this indicates that the party has not lost its ties with the people, that it senses their aspirations and moods. There are reports that about 40,000 Communists work now in the ranks of the Latvian People's Front, representing approximately 20 percent of this organization's total membership. The International Front of Latvian SSR Working People, according to information given by its leaders, is actively supported by almost 60,000 party members, or over 30 percent of its membership. If these estimates are to be believed, the total accounts for almost one-half of the numerical strength of the entire republican party organization.

Of course, the estimates are very approximate. Something else is important, however. Communists' involvement in the new mass organizations goes a long way toward galvanizing the emergence of different opinions within the Latvian Communist Party itself and promotes a broad—and at times even extremely sharp—debate. Some people call for "Communists to be recalled from the fronts," without realizing that this would deprive the party of an opportunity to be with people and to work among the broadest people's masses. Others call for the description of "genuine Communists" to be applied only to those who are active within the front with which their own sympathies lie. Essentially, they lead to the party as a political organization being dissolved among the masses, and this would inevitably entail the loss of its very nature as a political organization.

I think that we must open our eyes and self-critically recognize this reality, we must act vigorously to restructure our work and bring it closer to people's interests so as to preserve the Latvian Communist Party as a political organization upholding the interests of Latvia's whole people.

The Central Committee Bureau believes that decisive importance must attach to ensuring the unity of party ranks in the new conditions, in the conditions of multiplicity of views and actions. Because—to call things by their proper names—any split and any formation of two or more alternative factions within the Latvian Communist Party ranks in today's social, economic, and political situation in the republic would, to all intents and purposes, mean halting the process of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost. This would also create problems for the implementation of the Lettish nation's right to self-determination and the successful solution of many problems which are vitally important for the republic's population.

Proceeding from this formulation of the problem, we must jointly discuss and define criteria which would underlie the activity of Communists who have joined and are actively cooperating with new sociopolitical organizations.

First of all, a conclusion of fundamental importance. Namely, that the Central Committee Bureau is unconditionally in favor of dialogue and, wherever necessary, debate with all sociopolitical forces in the republic. But we can engage in constructive cooperation with other organizations and movements only on the principled basis of implementing the policy of perestroyka and only with those whose practical actions and documents confirm this political orientation.

It is necessary to unite all forces for immediate work and a clear-cut stance by each and every Communist, including those who cooperate with other organizations or movements. This will demand a certain amount of civic courage, the ability to rise above emotions, and determination to make one's own inner choice. But this is dictated by the times, and we do have grounds for hoping for a realistic party stance by Communists in a situation when the fate of perestroyka—perhaps not just in Latvia but throughout the Soviet Union—is in the balance.

When raising the question of a Communist's responsibility to society as a matter of principle, it is impossible to overlook another aspect of this problem. Now that the new sociopolitical organizations and movements in Latvia have become a definite political force, their leaders and aktiv members at all levels must realize that they should take on real responsibility for constructiveness and stability in sociopolitical processes in the republic.

Nowadays anyone who claims the role of leader of the masses must be able to foresee the consequences of his declarations and actions, not just proceeding from the interests of his organization's tactical maneuvers, but with a sense of responsibility for the vital interests of the entire republic, for the future of perestroyka in Latvia. It is necessary to persistently overcome one of the "infantile disorders" of our social process—being carried away by political speculations in a selfish competition for popularity among one's supporters.

Recently there has also been a broad discussion of the question of the further paths of evolution of the political model of society in Latvia. Are we approaching a new quality for the one-party system, or is the process of democratization really moving toward the formation of a multiparty system? Opinions are divided both in society and in the party organizations, and you can see substantially different nuances in the draft Latvian Communist Party action programs which were published before the plenum.

The following can be emphasized in a very brief formulation of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's point of view.

First. We are open to debate on the entire spectrum of questions touching on the political system's perestroyka. Starting from the principled position that the Latvian Communist Party (just like any other political or social organization) must ensure its prestige and the opportunity to constructively guide social development or participate in this process not by an article in the Fundamental Law but by real present-day actions.

And finally, the idea that not a single political force in society ought to be banned from engaging in specific activity and making itself known, provided only that its aim is not to violently change the social system as laid down by the Constitution. On the other hand, however, it is impossible to demand legal guarantees as promissory notes drawn on an uncertain future.

Second, when reflecting on the pros and cons of the one-party and the multiparty systems, it must be said that neither system offers miraculous cures for possible social ills. Both systems can function either efficiently or poorly. Everything depends on how well balanced the sociopolitical system is, on the extent to which it conforms with society's real political maturity. In any case, any option, viewpoint, or demand along this avenue ought to be examined only in terms of their positive orientation toward the policy of perestroyka.

There is no alternative to perestroyka. There is a single strategic goal. Of course, there can be different viewpoints on questions of a tactical nature. But is it worth seeking a different principle for the organization of the political system, or is it better to make the maximum use of the existing potential? That is obviously the essence of the question's formulation. Our goal is not the number of parties but the improvement of the quality of people's life, the implementation of the policy of perestroyka. Thus, the meaning of the political system's improvement is to promote our society's radical renewal.

The party is vitally interested in constructive cooperation between the most diverse sociopolitical forces, in the implementation of social partnership in the interests of perestroyka. But we consider unacceptable any attempts to create political structures whose goal is to hold back perestroyka or to do away with the socialist society's constitutional foundations.

I think that people are driven to a broad discussion of the advantages of the one-party or multiparty system largely by the real dissatisfaction, the exacerbated socioeconomic problems, and the sense of discomfort many of them feel as a result of the open admission of burdensome historical legacies and the party's self-critical attitude toward the mistakes and deformations in social life during the period of Stalinism and stagnation. This debate is thus inspired more by negative emotions stemming from the past practice of the one-party system's functioning, rather than by specific arguments about the positive opportunities which could be offered by a totally different type of political system in our state and in today's real circumstances. I think that this level of perception of the problem must be deemed insufficient for making categorical demands, let alone for demanding immediate actions.

Thus, there is obviously no ground for talking about a multiparty system right now. The framework of the present constitutional sociopolitical system contains no obstacles to the processes of the formation and activity of organizations which differ in their priorities and tactical slogans. Its potential is still far from exhausted.

And so, we are in favor of dialogue, debate, constructive actions, and cooperation on this issue, but we are against ultimatum demands and the issue of political promissory notes or indulgences.

But comrades, let us return to the question of the party's prestige. The claim that the party's prestige among the people has declined, that the party is living through a crisis, has already become a stereotype.

We strive to be self-critical in party affairs, but there is no need to go to extremes. There is no doubt that last spring's elections of people's deputies were a test of the prestige of party organizations and Communists. Now that the initial euphoria or confusion are over, it is appropriate to take another look and assess the principled choice made by the republic's population.

It must be said that we have never before had 8 of the 11 members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the supreme organ of state power in the USSR. The Latvian SSR's population is represented in the country's supreme organ of state power by 52 USSR people's deputies, 92 3 percent of whom are members of the Latvian Communist Party. Twenty-five percent of them—one in every four—are party and soviet officials. It will not go amiss also to recall that there are 16 USSR people's deputies among the members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Moreover, this time there was no selection of "statistically correct" deputies, and people voted for candidate deputies whom they believed to be leaders of perestroyka, the most active defenders of their interests.

But it would be hardly worthwhile returning to an appraisal of the past elections just for the sake of self-advertisement. It is important to realize the mistakes and learn from them. It is a fact that individual party organizations and committees took a vague stance during the election campaign and mistakes were committed by their apparatus in its work. There was obviously a shortage of skilled and businesslike coordination of party committees' activity by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus. In a number of cases, when candidate deputies nominated or backed by party committees lost to their rivals, they were paying for mistakes previously committed by these committees. But the main lesson must come from the conclusion that party organizations have no right to take a passive or neutral stance at any stage of the election campaign.

The past elections showed that this is a real and acute political struggle. The highly bellicose statements and optimistic forecasts by some sociopolitical organizations and movements regarding the results of the forthcoming elections testify that the election campaign is already under way, and that it has begun with a kind of psychological attack against the party.

It must be understood that the local soviet elections on 10 December and the republican Supreme Soviet elections early next year will be much more complex. We must be fully prepared for them, since constructiveness, purposefulness, and sense of responsibility at all stages of the election campaign will determine the future of the entire republic and of every rayon, village, and city in the new conditions, as well as the success of the future development of the perestroyka process in the republic.

This time we cannot leave any room for the indifference, carelessness, and also helplessness which could be observed on different occasions during the past elections.

There is another question which demands a clear-cut and open stance by the Latvian Communist Party. The main guideline in our work must be not the achievement of good percentages but the concern to ensure that the interests of the republic, city, rayon, or village are upheld by people who are devoted to the policy of perestroyka, who deserve their voters' trust, who have constructive ideas and the desire to implement them with persistent labor.

The political foundation of the Latvian Communist Party's participation in the next elections must be provided by its election platform, whose substantial basic elements will no doubt come from the Latvian Communist Party's action program which is being discussed today.

Even so, this is insufficient. When joining the campaign for local soviet elections, the primary party organizations and the party raykoms and gorkoms must specifically analyze the problems of the development of their labor collectives, villages, and rayons, must specifically apply the directives of the Latvian Communist Party's action program to their own conditions, and must clearly define the priorities in their activity.

This is a largely unusual task in the new conditions, when the election campaign struggle is being joined by many sociopolitical organizations. This task must also be solved within the framework of the report-back meetings and report and election campaign which is now beginning in party organizations and groups. What better conditions for collectively analyzing the situation and defining the basic guidelines of work!

I think that the party organizations' tasks in the forthcoming elections will also be the focus of attention in the reports by raykom and gorkom bureaus which, proceeding from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decisions, will be held this fall.

Without dwelling in any greater detail on this problem, I only wish to once more draw the plenum participants' attention to the report and election campaign and the special importance of reports by the party's leadership organs for galvanizing the work of primary party organizations, for the enhancement of its fruitfulness and efficiency, and of course for the nomination of new, creatively-minded, and energetic party officials.

Comrades! Not a single one of the republic's real problems can be resolved without taking into account the multinational structure of its population and the state of interethnic relations. It is therefore necessary to cite several conclusions drawn from the pre-plenum debate on this aspect.

It is well known that a scheduled plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is due to elaborate the concept of the party approach toward the implementation of the nationalities policy, while the Congress of USSR People's Deputies is due to adopt the relevant legislative acts.

A democratic and civilized system of interethnic relations today can no longer be based on abstract slogans about friendship of peoples, equal rights, equality, and brotherhood. Without in any way raising doubts about these values, policy must rely on tried and tested principles of concord of national interests. They are founded on the principle of nations' self-determination. The political leadership's task is to help the people make their historic choice, to be able to distinguish between the nation's long-term vitally important interests and current moods.

Today we do not simply proclaim our goal—to achieve economic and political autonomy for Latvia in a union of equal republics—but consistently pursue this course in all our political activity in representative and executive organs of power. This is in line with the Lettish nation's interests and with the interests of all the other national groups, and therefore the interests of Latvia's whole people.

It is necessary to constantly bear in mind how complex is the situation prevailing in the republic. Demographic trends in the past few decades indicate that the Lettish nation is quite rapidly becoming the minority on its own ethnic territory. The reason for this must be sought in shortsighted economic management which, apart from anything else, disrupted the equilibrium between industry and agriculture and exacerbated the economic situation.

Any mention of this fact in past years often provoked charges of inflaming emotions. But today we are dealing with "dry" figures which cannot fail to provoke emotions.

Politics must take into account objective trends, the real situation, and emotional and psychological moods. I therefore believe that the plenum participants must be made aware of these figures and draw their conclusions.

Whereas the relative proportion of Letts in the structure of the republic's entire population within its present borders in 1940 stood at approximately 80 percent, it had dropped to only 62 percent in the late fifties, and stands at just over 50 percent now. It is well known that this process is without precedent in the history of a single European state. Whereas the number of Letts in Latvia has increased only 3-4 percent in the past 3 decades, the number of Russians has increased 65 percent, while the number of Ukrainians living in Latvia has even trebled.

As a result of migration, there has been a catastrophic decline in the relative proportion of Letts not only among the republic's population as a whole, but especially among urban dwellers, industrial workers, and of course Latvian Communist Party members.

It would, of course, be simplistic to believe that the achievement of political, economic, and legal autonomy for the republic would automatically solve all questions of interethnic relations. In its work, the Latvian Communist Party, observing and protecting the basic interests of the Lettish nation, must promote the creation of favorable living conditions for all national and ethnic groups in Latvia. The equality of nations and peoples in the world is inseparably linked with the equality of people on any territory and regardless of their national origins.

There is no doubt at all that the prosperity of the indigenous nation cannot and will not be built on any restrictions on the rights and freedoms of people of other nationalities. Every citizen of the republic must be confident that Latvia, which is the Letts fatherland, is also a home rather than just a temporary shelter for him as well.

While advocating energetic steps to stop the mechanical growth of the population, the Central Committee Bureau believes that it is necessary to offer more help to ease the adaptation of people for whom Latvia is the place where they live and work, the motherland of their children.

The democratic traditions of interethnic contacts ought to be restored and developed. In this context it is necessary to seriously examine the concept of cultural autonomy, in other words the national groups' right and opportunity to satisfy their national interests in education, culture, and contacts by choosing for themselves the best form for this.

In the conditions of the prevailing ethnodemographic conditions in the republic, the party organs and each and every Communist must be especially responsive to the population's national aspirations. They must be internationalists not in words but in deeds. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau supports the proposals to create a special consultative organ under the republic's Supreme Soviet, which would express and uphold the interests of all national groups in Latvia.

Questions associated with attitudes toward religion today legitimately occupy an increasingly important position in the process of society's democratization. It must be understood that until the scientific-theoretical method of thinking is universally accepted—and this is possible only at a new level of material and spiritual culture—a form of religious consciousness will be directly or indirectly present among a certain section of society. Therefore we Communists must show tolerance and understanding for people's religious feelings without forcing an atheistic world philosophy upon them. This does not mean that we are rejecting atheistic propaganda, but we reject with equal certainty the claims by some representatives of religion to hold a monopoly position in society's spiritual life. We have a negative attitude toward the identification of religion with spirituality in general, as mass media at times suggest, since religion has been and still is only a part of society's spiritual life.

We cannot accept attempts to raise doubts about the principle of separation of schools and the church. Soviet institutions have recently been doing a relatively large amount to review the dogmatic and scholastic ideas of past years and to correct the mistakes and illegalities committed in this sphere. Attention is also given to petitions by the faithful, and religious centers which previously belonged to them are being returned. Many other substantiated questions are being positively resolved.

The Latvian Communist Party Supreme Soviet Bureau condemns the desire to politicize the churches, something that has become noticeable in many Lutheran communities in the past few months. Here I am talking about the use of several churches in the process of the formation of so-called citizens' committees. Such actions lie outside the sphere of religious communities' activities, and they do not in any way serve to satisfy the religious needs of the faithful.

Comrades! Any policy and activity, unless they are based on a study of public opinion, scientific conclusions, and forecasts elaborated as a result of models of economic and sociopolitical processes, are doomed to fall prey to dilettantism and expediency.

Of course, there are not and there cannot be any ready-made prescriptions in the present situation. Every Communist, and professional party officials in particular, must learn to think creatively and to act in the new conditions. But party officials of any rank, aktiv members, and propagandists are entitled to the relevant consultations and methodological assistance.

It is necessary to immediately improve the performance of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Party History Institute, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee courses for improving the qualifications of party, soviet, and ideological cadres, and the Political Enlightenment Center and the University of Marxism-Leninism. On the whole, it is necessary to profoundly restructure the work of what could be described as the party's pedagogical and scientific centers, to give this work a modern meaning, and to modernize the forms of their activity. Proposals are coming in to review the traditional staff structure of the party committees' apparatus, and to incorporate in them slots for full-time sociologists and psychologists. But perhaps we should take a different path by concentrating skilled forces and supplying them with the appropriate material and technical base and scientific-methodological facilities in a strong center which would efficiently serve the interests of the entire organization? We all—in the Central Committee and in local party committees alike—must be constantly familiar with public opinion and the laws governing its formation and the dynamics of its changes.

The essential point here lies in our principled approach. Namely, we advocate that social science specialists be given real freedom and independence in scientific research in order to overcome political determinism, dogmatism, and apologetics in the social sciences. This will help to rehabilitate the truth of life which, in turn, will become an important factor for improving the party's ideological activity in the conditions of perestroyka.

A few words about history. We do not intend to take the researchers' work away from them, but I do not think it possible to skip over two anniversaries in our political calendar. First of all, the question of 1939-1940: Mutual relations between the great powers, their role in unleashing the tragedy of World War II, and the destiny of small states, including Latvia, in these collisions.

The debate on this question was raised to a qualitatively new and politically significant level by the work being done by the commission of USSR people's deputies for political and legal appraisal of the 1939 nonaggression treaty between the USSR and Germany.

The commission is thoroughly appraising previously published and newly acquired documents of the time in relation to the development of subsequent events. We already have at our disposal relatively broad information on the course of the commission's work and its initial results. We also expect high-quality and significant results in the appraisal of these problems by the commission set up at the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet's July session.

Nonetheless, we all, regardless of our political likes and dislikes, must realize: The path to the restoration of Latvia's sovereignty lies not through better-focused interpretations of history, and even less so through illusions about restoring the past, but through purposeful legislation and persistent struggle for the solution of national economic and political problems.

And now about another problem. On reading the published draft action program, you will have no doubt become familiar with the Central Committee's principled appraisal of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held in July 1959.. Relying on scientific research which had been done, we had already concluded at our previous plenums that the situation in Latvia in the late fifties did not require any urgent examination of the question of "mistakes in nationalities policy," nor were there any grounds for accusing a whole group of republican leadership officials of "bourgeois nationalism."

Public opinion in the republic also gave broad support for the conclusions that this plenum and its decisions and consequences amounted to a revenge by the adherents of Stalinist thinking and of supercentralized administrative-edict methods of management following the process of overcoming the personality cult and its consequences which was launched by the 20th CPSU Congress.

We deem it our duty to say unambiguously: The discrediting and removal from active political work of a large group of republican leadership officials (Karlis Ozolinsh, Vilis Kruminsh, Aleksandr Nikonov, Eduard Berklavs, Indrikis Pinksis, Pavel Pizans, Valdemar Kalpinsh, Paul Dzerve, Edgar Mukins, Arnold Zandmanis, Visvald Vallis, Pavel Cherkovskis, Lina Zalkalne, and many others) were not only groundless and unfair. This had far-reaching negative consequences and created a precedent after which there were similar occurrences on a large scale at different levels.

People's lives took different paths in the subsequent years. Eduard Berklavs turned into a malicious denigrator of the Latvian Communist Party and ultimately took a stance of open opposition to everything that had been and is being done by the Communist Party, everything that he himself had done. He is publicly reviling the ideas of his youth and his mature years. Never mind, that is his own business. Other comrades, who also lived through an exceptionally difficult moral situation, withstood and remained convinced Communists. Those among them who were destined to live and see the years of renewal are total supporters of perestroyka.

Of course, the wheels of history can neither be halted nor reversed. It is, however, our duty to tell the whole truth about events at that time, without omission and without embellishment. Historians have already spoken, and they will have even more to say. Party organizations which have Latvian Communist Party veterans on their roll must create the most favorable conditions possible to accumulate their experience in perestroyka work.

Finally, and in today's situation which is much more complex, this historical lesson must serve as a bitter reminder to all Communists that it is necessary to be together with the party, together with the people at crucial times and on questions of principle.

One more conclusion in this context. Namely: Only democratism and openness can guarantee that the party, as the nucleus of the sociopolitical structure, will avoid self-isolation. We are persistently moving in this direction. For example, the publication of plenum stenographic records and transcripts of sittings has become a customary phenomenon. This is a principled step and not at all a tribute to the demands of the time. We all still have fresh on our minds the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held 18 July last year. Appraising it with hindsight, it must be self-critically admitted that the hastily prepared decision and the lack of convincing and exhaustive information to party organizations and to society as a whole did not in any way build up the party's prestige. Today we are confirming in practice our will and our ability to learn from our own mistakes. I am convinced this will make us politically wiser and stronger.

Comrades! This report does not, of course, claim to contain the absolute truth or unambiguous answers to all questions. Principled unanimity is evident on many questions. There are also differences, however, and it will not be easy to automatically reconcile different and often diametrically opposite proposals.

We will achieve real progress only when we act specifically as people who are driven by the same idea and guided by our profound beliefs. Therefore I call on all plenum participants to turn to the force of argument rather than to the argument of force, to seek and implement the principle of consensus.

And in conclusion, a few proposals on the organization of the plenum's work. Taking into consideration the fact that at least four draft Latvian Communist Party action programs have been prepared within the framework of the debate prior to the plenum, that many Communists have expressed their proposals in the press or submitted them to the Central Committee, and that plenum participants will no doubt supplement and amplify them further still, the preparation of the final document will require painstaking, profound, and prolonged work and, of course, time.

It is doubtful whether we shall manage to do this at the proper level right here, during the plenum's work. Therefore, the Central Committee Bureau proposes that the plenum's work be divided in two stages. Obviously, it would be expedient to set up an authoritative Central Committee commission following the debate, to include in it representatives of the authors' collectives of the published drafts and, as the saying goes, our best forces, and then to adjourn the plenum.

This commission will be instructed, having summed up all constructive proposals and on the basis of the initiatives of plenum participants, to quickly prepare a new draft document and submit it for discussion by the Central Committee plenum which, having reconvened, will examine and adopt the Latvian Communist Party's action program. In our view, this organization of work is demanded by the special importance of the question being discussed both for the Communist Party and the future development of Soviet Latvia. There must be no haste here. I ask plenum participants to examine these proposals and, if they are acceptable, we expect your proposals on the commission's composition and its work schedule.

Thank you for your attention.

Further on Vagris Address

LD1808103689

[Editorial Report] Riga in Latvian to Europe at 2005 GMT on 13 August in its "Amber Coast" program broadcasts a 9-minute report introduced by Janis Udris on the recent Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Udris notes the attention of people following the broadcast of the proceedings on radio and, in the evenings, on television. He says the plenum discussed social processes in Latvia and the action program of the Latvian Communist Party [CP] describing the present political situation in Latvia, Udris says that various epithets, from the awakening of national enthusiasm to gloom over soap coupons have been heard to describe it in everyday talk; various appeals were heard at People's Front and Interfront meetings, and there had also been various assessments at the Central Committee plenum.

In the opinion of Udris, the present situation in Latvia was accurately described at the plenum by Ilgvars Kalnins, first secretary of the Tukums rayon committee of the party, who in a recorded excerpt is heard to ask whether a revolutionary situation exists if the people and communists do not want to live as they did in the past with obsolete, imposed preconceptions. Udris affirms that a revolutionary situation does exist in Latvia, and that the party has endeavored to restore its authority undermined in the years of stagnation "during the time of power of the Brezhnevites Pelse, Voss, and their accomplices." Udris reports that at the plenum, Ludbarzs, leader of the Stucka Rayon Party organization, very aptly said that the party still has an opportunity to jump at the last moment onto the train by which our people are leaving, and that another speaker said that the Communist Party of Latvia still has an opportunity to be with the people, to be a party of the people. Udris asks: "To what extent is the Latvian CP currently ready to bear the heavy burden of responsibility? What are its prospects? Are there many prospects of recovering the trust of the people? And what are the ways of recovering this trust?"

Udris says that "the report by Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Central Committee, was significant. Emphasizing the topical urgency of ensuring Latvia's economic sovereignty, taking a stand for a greater independence of the Latvian CP, Janis Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Central Committee, was significant. Emphasizing the topical urgency of ensuring Latvia's economic sovereignty, taking a stand for a greater independence of the CP of Latvia, Janid Vagris also declared the attitude of the leadership of the CP of Latvia towards the more important political process in Latvia, towards the various standpoints of various public organizations and groups."

A recording of the report by Janis Vagris at the plenum is broadcast. Vagris says:

"There are no grounds at present for talking about a multiparty system, because with the framework of the current constitutionally laid-down political system, there are no obstacles for the process of forming various organizations differing in their priorities, slogans, and tactics. And these opportunities have not yet by any means been exhausted. So then, we are for a dialogue, discussion, constructive activity, and cooperation on this question, but against ultimatums and demands for issuing political promissory notes or indulgencies."

Vagris goes on to say: "We are not simply declaring today our aim of achieving the economic and political independence of Latvia in the union of independent republics with equal rights, but indeed in all our political activity, in representational and executive power organs, we are consistently implementing this course. This corresponds to the interests of both the Latvian nation and the other national groups, respectively to the interests of all the peoples of Latvia. It must be continuously borne in mind what a complicated situation has come about in the republic. The demographic tendencies of the last 10 years show that the Latvian nation under peace-time conditions is very rapidly becoming a minority in its ethnic territory. And the cause of this is to be searched for in a short-sighted management which, apart from everything else, has disturbed the balance between industry and agriculture and exacerbated the ecological situation."

Vagris continues: "Mentioning of this conclusion in previous years had frequently brought forth a reproach for inciting emotions. And this time it concerns dry figures which, nevertheless, cannot but cause emotions. And in politics, too, somehow emotions, objective tendencies, have to be taken into account. Therefore, I believe that the participants at the plenum must know these figures, and they must come to conclusions. The share of Latvians among all the inhabitants living within the republic's present boundaries in 1940 was approximately 80 percent; then at the end of the 1950's it was as little as 62 percent; but at the present moment, it is only a little more than 50 percent. Such a process, as we know, has no analogue in the history of any European country.

"While the number of Latvians in Latvia during the last 3 decades has increased by only 3-4 percent, the number of Russians has increased by 65 percent, and the number of Ukrainians living in the republic has even trebled.

"As a result of migration, the share of Latvians has catastrophically diminished not only among the republic's inhabitants as a whole, but especially among town people, industrial workers, and also, of course, within the composition of the Latvian CP.

"It would, of course, be an oversimplification to say that by attaining the republic's political, economic, and legal independence all the nationality relations questions would be automatically solved. In its activity, taking into account and defending the Latvian nation's fundamental interests, the Latvian CP must promote favorable living conditions for all national and ethnic groups in Latvia. Equal rights among nations and peoples in the world are inseparably connected with the equality of human rights in any territory, irrespective of national origin. There are no doubts that the well-being of the indigenous nation cannot and will not be built upon the restriction of freedoms and rights of people of other nationalities. But every citizen of the republic must be convinced that Latvia, which is the fatherland to Latvians, is also home, and not just a temporary abode, to them."

Udris reports that "the subject of nationality relations was mentioned at the plenum quite a number of times. In addition, it was asserted that the Latvian CP had split according to nationality. It appears significant to me that such assertions were practically expressed only by aliens. Well, what could this be? A type of absurd conviction or a tactical calculation? Because the reality is that of the 182,000 members of the Latvian CP, not quite 40 percent are Latvians; in Riga this figure is even much smaller, more than 43 percent are Russians, and 17 percent are Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, and representatives of other nationalities, so Latvians are an emphatic minority." In the opinion of Udris, it would be a simple, even primitive, approach to regard a split as one according to nationality, and he wonders whether this could be a tactic that was already tried in 1959, when many progressive Russians, such as Aleksandr Nikonov, had Latvian bourgeois nationalist tags attached to them. In addition, he says, Interfront has now sharply attacked progressive, realistically-minded Russian communists. But, on the other hand, the activities of USSR People's Deputy Viktors Alksnis have offended Latvian national feelings. The history and soul of the Latvian people is complex, Udris concludes.

Raman Addresses Plenum

LD1808154889

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1518 GMT on 10 August, in its live relay of the proceedings of the Communist Party of Latvia, broadcasts a 15-minute speech by Chairman of the State Planning Committee Miervaldis Raman.

Raman begins his speech: "Esteemed participants in the plenum: Implementing the statehood declaration, the law and resolution on the republic's economic independence adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet, last week, in collaboration with the specialists of the USSR State Planning Committee we worked out a draft document—as yet unprecedented in our country—a model for an agreement between the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers and the USSR Council of Ministers, under which, next to one another, there are the signatures of Vilnis Bresis and Nikolay Ryzhkov. The title of the agreement is: On the Principles of Exchange of Commodities Between the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic and the USSR and Its Guarantees Under the Conditions of Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Economic Independence.

"The term of exchange of commodities also embraces all mutual services, including ports and budget relationships. There are addenda to the agreement. Agreements between the State Planning Committees, the State Material/Technical Supply Committees and so on, already on concrete nomenclatures of commodities and services.

"Talking about the agreement's partners, at the present moment Nikolay Ryzhkov has expressed himself positive about our proposal, Yuriy Maslyukov has agreed to the model.

"In such a way our economic and social development plan for 1990 is changing into an agreement of plans, in order to become, with the 13th 5-year period, only an agreement.

"In the six articles of the draft agreement, among other things, a complete equality of the contracting parties, adherence to equivalence, primacies of the republic's jurisdication, responsibility for the fulfilment of the agreement, long-term economic contacts and other terms have been mentioned.

"How it will be further on we shall see already tomorrow, when we shall again meet with Comrades Ryzhkov and Maslyukov.

"Our position is clear. It is determined by the republic's Supreme Soviet decisions. However, Comrade Petkevics who, with very good reason, said from this rostrum that there could be very great difficulties ahead is very much right."

Ramans explains that corresponding departments of the republic are presently engaged in drawing up draft agreements and the terms of the agreement enable realization of the principle "the better we shall work the better we shall live. Everything produced above the volumes of the commodities written into the agreement with remain in the republic, at the disposal of its enterprises."

He continues: "Therefore, you see, alarm is caused by the present situation in Latvia's economy, about which there has already been talk also from this rostrum.

"This arises from a recent discussion of the first half-year's results at the Council of Ministers; this is testified to by the traditional statistics report published on Sunday. In many assessments downward-sliding tendencies appear. I shall only touch upon one. The most important one The national income produced in the first half-year has increased by R122 million in comparison with R200 million in January-June of last year." Ramans continues on the topic of saving resources, which was 1 and ½ times more efficient than production increase in the production of the national income, and gives some examples of usable materials disposed of as rubbish. There were also many other misdeeds, including a fall in production quality he says, and all this has always been negative, but was all the more impermissible in a soveiegn republic, "in which, to put it briefly, we all must learn, I would like to say, Japanese or German know-how on utilization of resources and manufacturing of competitive products." He states that the additional obtained national income would be very necessary to eliminate both social and ecological backwardness and in the social sphere these means are eagerly awaited in education, both by schools and for the improvement of skills. He says that schools should produce intelligent and as creative young people and the presentday worker, too, should be intelligent because this was one of the most important roads to the state's progress. He continues: 'Because of that we must also utilize urgently, and on a mass scale, all opportunities to send students to foreign higher education establishments."

Raman says on the subject of these tasks—almost the most important of the new socioeconomic model—it is alarming that there is little talk about them at present, and, most importantly, there is little work done at the Central Committee, at the city of Riga committee and at other party organizations, and therefore economic departments and enterprises are reacting correspondingly. Also, he states, the inertia on these questions on part of the State Constitution Committee causes great concern for there are colossal opportunities to save resources in construction by designing and building lightweight rational buildings, in comparison with present day heavy buildings, and payments would even increase.

Ramans explained that negative production results are partially based also on the lack of interest with the current management forms and therefore, enterprises on lease must be established much more actively, shares must be sold to the workers, and other undertakings to interest them must be carried out. Ramans also mentioned the tasks of reprofiling industry and stated that already during the next few months the Finance Ministry, the state committees for industry and for labor and social questions, banks and also the State Planning Committee, and all economists of the republic, should endeavor to draw up new and radical proposals in this field. He regards it as a necessity that all forces must be devoted to the task of finally completing the formation of the new sovereign socioeconomic model, to the task of fulfilling 1989's tasks, and to the task of increasing the national income. He continued: "These could become that common denominator that Comrade Vagris talked about in his report." And Raman then notes that here the information media has a gigantic job ahead: "I would even like to say that this is a patriotic task of press, radio and television journalists." Ramans say that some people will reproach him about pragmatism and technocratism, but these cannot be done without.

Returning to the sovereignty declaration and the law on economic independence, Ramon says that that the draft agreement between the Councils of Ministers brings an entirely new quality in the relationship between the republic and the center: "The course of events enables us to think that in the near future the center will join us also in property, finance and credit resources, external economic contacts interpretations. In this connection we must all revise much more rapidly the union subordination of enterprises. The agreement on exchange of commodities between the Councils of Ministers will become a guarantee for material technical supply and technological provision for normal working of these enterprises, in the first place, under conditions of outside-the-department status.

"By this I would like to underline once more that the republic's government is against any kind of exchange of union dictate for a republican dictate. Regulating the activity of enterprises must take place only through laws and taxes, also through prices, credits, subsidies and relief.

"An effective policy of investments and innovations must be created, and then later, a marketing policy." Raman addressed this necessity to scientists and other specialists saying that interpretation of economic relations and recognition would take some time. Raman continued: "But the social sphere and (?ecology), construction and agroindustrial complex, as follows from the declaration on the sovereignty of the State of Latvia, are already under the full authority of the republic, under its sovereign administration. In this connection an entire bunch of draft laws of sovereign Latvia, which are already being worked on, and the drafting of other minimum-necessity documents, must be speeded up, beginning with the law on taxes and ending with the law on the people's education. It must be remembered that in this connection the decisions and directives of the corresponding union organs, such as the People's Education Committee, the Health and Culture Ministries, Nature Protection and State Construction Committees and other ministries and committees, if these are required at all, only have a recommendatory character."

Raman says that in this work the democratic and progressive experience of foreign countries must also be used: "And I think that you will agree with me that at present, as yet the entire USSR economic mechanism, at a relative comparison with the developed capitalist countries, is very primitive." There is a lack of research and knowledge and this is confirmed by the many mistakes of the center he says and continues, "also our mistakes during the transformation period, beginning with the dry law and ending with the customs duty on bringing in computers as presents."

Discussing the new federation model further, in the republic it should also take shape from below on the principles of complete parity he says. Raman then states: "One of the fundamental principles of our state and party, democratic centralism, which was just mentioned by Comrade Vanags, must be essentially changed." He maintains that the administrative command system created under the influence of democratic centralism has become deformed in state and party sectors, and he continues at length about the desirable changes to be accomplished in the union and the republic: "Touching upon the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question, and talking about a replacement for the postulate of democratic centralism, also in the party structure it must be proposed—may the Russian communists forgive me—to create or to restore the Communist Party of Russia. This will completely eliminate the elder brother syndrome which became entrenched when the CPSU replaced the Communist Party of Russia. [applause] Then, on the foundations of complete equality, sovereign communist parties of sovereign republics would form from below with a corresponding coordinating union organ. This, to my mind, would be an important element of democratic transformation in the party, which is at present lingering. I think that part of this must be included into the program to be drawn up by us and into the Communist Party of Latvia platform for the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum."

Concluding, Ramans says that he agrees with this plenum being continued after the work on the program, and he believes that the second item on the agenda, on organizational questions, should be examined, "so to speak, in the second place." He agrees with the assessment by Comrade Krastins and other comrades on the work of the bureau, and "so then, we have ahead of us, comrades, as Vilnis Bresis said at the Supreme Soviet session, hard work, but it will not become worse."

Klautsen Speaks to Plenum

LD1808182189 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1440 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Speech by Arnold Klautsen, Riga City Communist Party Committee first secretary, at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Riga—live in Russian]

[Excerpts] Taking into account the polemics developing lately in the republic on prospective ways of development, the party city committee bureau has suggested a more precise orientation toward the socialist way of development within the composition of the USSR in the future program. [passage omitted]

Comrades, the Latvian Central Committee's [CP] program for future action is based on an estimation of the situation in our republic. In this context I want to dwell on some tendencies in its development. First, the increase in feelings against socialism, against the USSR, among the republic's inhabitants.

The characteristics of this process are more subjective than objective. I want to refer to a recent public survey carried out by some editorial offices of Latvian Radio and TV. From what we can see, more than 60 percent of those polled were in favor of seceding from the USSR. Approximately the same number believes that in order to solve the question of granting state independence to the republic, it is necessary to collaborate with the NATO countries. Even taking into account the fact that the polling system often determines its results, it must be admitted that the results of this poll should hardly be taken with tranquility. Could we possibly, esteemed comrades, even a year ago have expected this result? [passage omitted]

What is going on in our party? Are we experiencing difficulties? Is there a crisis in our party or symptoms of a crisis in our party? If there are difficulties, well we have always had difficulties. From what I understand, there has never been a period in our party's development when we were without difficulties. Is it a crisis, as, by the way, the Duma of the Peoples Front announced today in a statement published in PADOMJU JAUNATNE [SOVIET YOUTH, Latvia's Komsomol newspaper]? Or how we assess the present state in our party. Secession from the party and declining numbers of new members joining the ranks of the CPSU tells us that there are symptoms of a crisis within the party. During a 6-month period this year, the Riga city party organization lost 580 membes. Almost 750 people were expelled or ceased to be CPSU members, including more than 400 who handed in party documents. Self-purification? Yes, but if during a long period of time in some collectives nobody hands in an application for party membership, then what is this? In our city and, as is evident from the press, in other places too, an increasing number of party organizations have lost considerable influence in working collectives, giving up their positions to other sociopolitical formations, to the people's front in the first place.

Somebody told me recently about a letter that arrived at a ministry from a rayon. It was signed by three leaders of rayon organizations—the party organization, the local soviet, and the Latvian People's Front. First appeared the signature of the chairman of the Latvian People's Front, then the rayon rayon soviet executive committee chairman's signature, and last the rayon party committee first secretary's signature. What does this tell us? [passage omitted]

At the same time, it is impossible not to notice that many broadcasts and press statements are obviously of an anti-Soviet and antisocialist nature.

I will give you some examples. Author Ruksans in an article—Is There Any Alternative to Independence for Latvia?—published in PADOMJU JAUNATNE newspaper, characterizes the USSR as an anachronism of our century, as the last world empire, and sets 1991 as the deadline for restoring the bourgeois Republic of Latvia and clarifies which categories of inhabitants will find a place in this free, quote unquote, state and who will have to leave. He categorically contradicts the assessment of the appeal of the Duma of the Latvian People's Front on 31 May given by the Latvian CP Central Committee Bureau.

In another article—Course to the Preservation of the Empire?—published in PADOMJU JAUNATNE on 15 July, author Seleckis analyzes Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech on central television on the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the country and concludes that the policies Gorbachev conducts in order to solve interethnic problems in the country are Kadetian [refers to the Constitutional Democrats party in the State Duma of the Russian Empire before the revolution] and not Bolshevik. Seleckis concludes that the hopes of the Latvian nation to achieve a bright future within the composition of the USSR are illusory. In order to get through his last thought skillfully and, to my mind, perfidiously, everything is used—our shortages of soap, sugar, and so on. I recall a TV broadcast in which the situation with soap in one of the hospitals in our republic was analyzed, various medical staff members were interviewed. After a half-second break, a childs voice with a slight accent in very clear, beautiful Russian performs parts from the national anthem of the USSR—Sing to our motherland, home of the free, and Great Russia has welded forever to stand. I think it is not just simple mockery. And one more thing comes to my mind. In what country in the whole world, except our country, are the official mass media used against the country's own leaders? [passage omitted]

The party will not be able to secure the course drawn up for restructuring the life of society without getting support from the press, radio and TV—those principal means of influencing people's minds. This is the most important Leninist postulate in every revolution, and perestroyka, as has been said before, is a revolution.

Lithuania's Brazauskas Discusses Party Affairs

LD2208112489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 20 Aug 89

[Report by Edvinas Butkus]

[Text] As we have already announced, First Secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Algirdas Brazauskas gave his regular interview to Lithuanian radio yesterday. Most attention was focused on party affairs, both internal and its relationship with Moscow. Algirdas Brazauskas said that the Lithuanian Communist Party will gain a new status this year when the new party rules and the program are adopted. The main objective was to get completely demarcated from its past, to gain people's confidence by the party's activities, and to work for the future. The discussion that is currently under way within the party ranks gives hope that these objectives would be reached. There is no other way.

The relationship with Moscow is rather complex because in general the restructuring process within the party proceeds very slowly there. This has also been indicated by the PRAVDA editorial article published this week entitled Stop Negative Processes and Defend Restructuring. According to the article, restructuring has to be defended first of all in the Baltic republics.

The edifying tone of the article was rejected by Algirdas Brazauskas. He stood for a dialogue between partners.

I asked Algirdas Brazauskas about the visit of the CPSU Central Committee commission or representatives of the Central Committee to Lithuania this week; I received a rather more substantial answer:

[Begin Brazauskas recording] It is understandable that decisions of this nature adopted here cause a certain concern to the CPSU Central Committee, the apparatus, and, of course, to the administration, to the Politburo itself. I also personally had to give explanations to the Commission for Baltic Affairs, which has been working for a long time, why such documents had been adopted. I tried to explain; people who wanted to understand understood, however, those who imagine the further work of the CPSU and its future in a different way probably did not understand our motives; and the main motive is that the Communist Party should be renovated and should have a concrete program which would correspond to today's period of restructuring both in the Lithuanian Republic and in the entire Soviet Union.

We have voiced our opinion that the party should not lag behind the processes of restructuring which are underway in this state. Let us take, for example, the first Congress of the People's Deputies, the session of the Supreme Soviet, and the new documents which had been adopted—all these indicate that first steps towards establishment and reinforcement of the state governed by law and order have already been made; these steps are vigorous indeed. After all we have already won a good deal in the sphere of republican economic independence.

However, signs indicating the restructuring of the party are yet rather insignificant.

I would not call it a commission—groups of officials arrive here to clarify some details and talk to party secretaries, explaining the existing opinions. It turns out that there is indeed a diversity of opinion.

No generalizations have been made yet; perhaps they will be made in future. [end recording]

A. Brazauskas' interview was not only about party matters. So far it has been quiet here in Lithuania, however, it appears that a real threat is emerging that is pushing Estonia into a deadlock. According to Algirdas Brazauskas, Vilnius party leaders must first begin consultations with the possible organizers of strikes. Much will depend on the session of the Supreme Soviet at the beginning of September.

Concluding his interview, Algirdas Brazauskas voiced his thoughts about 23 August.

[Begin Brazauskas recording] Of course, 23 August is a significant event in the life of Lithuania. This event first of all was experienced most of all by the Lithuanian people here in Lithuania—first of all by them. Having said that, we must realize that all this happened 50 years ago. We have voiced our denunciation [of the pact] here in the administration of the republic—and not only in the administration. This pact has also been renounced by Sajudis and other organizations; these renunciations were right, too.

However, life does not stop; we have lived through a 50-year period since these events took place. To start life anew begining with 1939 is hardly possible because both our political situation and the new generation of people are entirely different. The political environment is entirely different today; we are, say what you like, a part of the Soviet Union and this is a fact whether we like it or not. And so far we neither can nor are allowed to forget this.

Of course, we shall evaluate the events of 1939-40 as a real fact and not as the events which some people perhaps would like them to be. The truth must be the main criterion in the evaluation of these events and not some, I would say, time-serving pronouncements, a desire to make statements or a desire not to see what had really happened. Well, what happened, happened.

Therefore, I hope that the events being organized, the live chain of people from Vilnius to Tallinn, will be friendly and of good will, that this will not evoke any disruption in our life, that this will not provoke any conflicts which are totally unnecessary here.

The decision adopted to organize it [the human chain] shows that this way of expression is acceptable to people. [end recording]

Lithuanian Official on Social Democratic Movement

18001538 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by A. Svirbutavichyute: "Social Democrats"]

[Text]**A Social Democratic Party conference took place on Saturday 12 August in the presidium hall of the Academy of Sciences.**

We are speaking with one of the organizers of the social democratic movement, the dean of the Natural Sciences Department of the University of Vilnius, Associate Professor Dobilas Kirvyalis, about tasks that face this party, its principles, and activities.

[Svirbutavichyute] What is the purpose of this conference of social democrats?

[Kirvyalis] To reestablish the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party (LSDP), which was formed in the 19th century and advocated ideas of national self-determination, independence, democracy, and political and social justice. The purpose of the conference is to discuss and adopt a party statute and program and to prepare for a convention.

[Svirbutavichyute] When will you convene?

[Kirvyalis] We are in no hurry. It will be the 14th conference and will take place in a few months.

[Svirbutavichyute] On 27 April 1989 an initiating group announced the reestablishment of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. How did you arrive at that idea?

[Kirvyalis] When Gorbachev came to power, I, sitting in my laboratory, permitted myself to imagine what I would do if I were in his place. First of all, I would try to split the party. The activities of two full-fledged parties, each possessing legislative rights, should become the norm of public life. If I succeeded at it, I would dare to say that I have done all that is possible to put us on the road to a basic democracy. All our economic and social woes are political woes. Their causes are intertwined with the public-political structure in the one-party system.

[Svirbutavichyute] Does this mean that to live under conditions of genuine democracy one must have a multiparty system?

[Kirvyalis] The only way. Genuine democracy is the freedom of different opinions. Different parties must analyze the situation and propose ways of solving problems. People must have the right to choose. The party which collects the majority of votes forms the government and represents the parliament. Such a system is natural; it functions well in European countries.

[Svirbutavichyute] Social democracy is well entrenched in many European countries. Are you in communication with social democratic parties of other lands?

[Kirvyalis] We have already begun. Here I must remind you of the following: The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party has always been active. It was banned in 1936, but it functioned and issued its magazines and newspapers. It was banned again in 1940. During the years of the German occupation the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania was founded through the initiative of the leader of the social democrats, Styaponas Kairis. Through the initiative of the social democrats, a coalition committee of several parties was formed in 1945 which guided the youth on how to conduct themselves after the war. The committee taught that armed resistance was senseless suicide. Now, returning to history, I can say that we continue the ideas of the Second International, which, founded 100 years ago, rejected revolutionary struggle and advocated the parliamentary-democratic way. After World War II it was elected by social democrats, laborites and socialists. Lenin in 1919 did not recognize the Second International and charged it with opportunism. The establishment of the Komintern was a result of contemporary actual politics. The Komintern went bankrupt. And in Western Europe the Socialist International continued the ideas of the Second International. The best example is the social democrats in Sweden, who have already been in power for about 50 years and who win the elections every 4 years. We have heard a well-known saying that there is more socialism there than here. The recent 18th congress in Stockholm showed clearly that these ideas are popular.

[Svirbutavichyute] Does this mean that the ideololgical sources are in the Second International, and a multiparty system is the only way to genuine democracy?

[Kirvyalis] Without doubt. History shows that when a one-party system is in effect, society degenerates. A clear example is Lithuania. A military coup took place in 1926. Genuine democracy in Lithuania flowered from 1922 to 1926. The authoritarian regime of Smetona brought the country to a crisis culminating in the Suvalki uprising of 1935. What did Smetona do after that? In 1938 he forbade parties, introduced the one-party system of tautininkai [nationalists]. And Hitlerite Germany? And Italy under Mussolini? Wielding unlimited power, governments perish.

[Svirbutavichyute] I read a list of the organizational committee of your party—Professors Sakalas and Antanavichyus, jurist Shatas, psychologist Bagdonas, physician Andryulaitis. Is it a party of intellectuals?

[Kirvyalis] Social democrats have always been a party of intellectuals.

[Svirbutavichyute] What will be your relations with the Communist Party of Lithuania?

[Kirvyalis] We support that wing of the Communist Party that is in favor of Lithuania's independence. The Communist Party possesses real political power. It alone can attain political independence for Lithuania. The dialogue is with Moscow, and Moscow participates in dialogue only with the Lithuanian Communist Party.

We consider that we must first attain political independence and then conclude economic and trade agreements. Russia was and always will be our principal market and source of raw materials.

When we attain our political independence, I think, the time of the social democrats will come. We will try to return Lithuania to the community of European nations. We will move toward this goal with the help of the Socialist International, in which a place has been kept for us up until now. There is a Lithuanian Social Democratic Party delegation abroad. One of its members, Mr Bilaytis, will take part in our conference. The motto of the Socialist International is "freedom, justice, solidarity." Thus we shall try to attain solidarity.

[Svirbutavichyute] Let us dream. Let us say Lithuania will attain political independence. And then what?

[Kirvyalis] Then all functioning parties will get equal rights. We will return to full-fledged public life.

[Svirbutavichyute] Each new phenomenon calls forth skepticism. We are not accustomed to a multiparty system. How do your colleagues regard it?

[Kirvyalis] I was already affected by social democratic ideas in my third year of college. While engaged in practical work I lived with old social democrats, and they let me read prewar editions of KULTURA and DARBO VISUOMYANE. I understood that this was an ideology that made good sense. Because of my social democratic propaganda I could not even go to Bulgaria. And now a dean was being elected and I was nominated. Like a joke—I am not a popular person, yet I was elected. I am very much astonished, but...

[Svirbutavichyute] How are your relations with "Sajudis"?

[Kirvyalis] Many in our party are from "Sajudis." We do not separate ourselves from them, we approve of their ideas. But we will go further.

Developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Reported

NKAO Congress Declaration Cited

NC2508122189 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Aug 89

["Declaration of the Congress of Plenipotentiary Representatives of the Population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, (NKAO)"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Aug (ARMENPRES)—The majority of the population of the NKAO has unequivocally expressed itself in favor of detaching the NKAO from the state structure of Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and its inclusion in Armenian SSR state structure by exercizing its will as a state and based on the decisions of the sessions of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. The will of the majority of the NKAO population is based on the sacred and inalienable right of each people to choose freely its own destiny; its political and legal system; and its economic, social, and cultural development. This right has been recognized by the international community, has been consolidated by international acts in the name of United Nations Organization, and has been ratified by the USSR and in the name of the Armenian people. The imperfection of the USSR Constitution, the aggression of a section of the Azerbaijani population—which is being instigated by the leadership of the republic—and the unpreparedness of the political leadership of the country to resolve the interethnic conflicts on time cannot justify postponing a solution to the NKAO problem. The introduction of the special administration form and the deprivation of the NKAO from the party oblast committee and oblast soviet of people's deputies virtually suppressed the already negligable rights of the autonomous entity and divested the Armenian population of legal participation in the protection of its national interests.

The 14th clause of the 119th Article of the USSR Constitution which empowers the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to introduce a special administration form to protect the security of the citizens does not, however, reserve for it the right to terminate the functions of local soviets.

The USSR Constitution reserves no right to any institution, including the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, even to terminate the functions of the village and burrow soviets.

The investment of the Special Administration Committee with such powers by the 12 January, 1989, decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is a gross violation of the 2d Article of the Constitution. Similarly, the regulations of the CPSU do not invest the Politburo with the right to terminate the functions of the party oblast committee. The decision to transfer the functions of the party oblast committee to the Special Administration Committee grossly contradicts the CPSU regulations and is condemned by the communists of the oblast.

The introduction of the special administration form in a way reflecting the unlawful covetousness of the Azerbaijani leadership has warped the life of the autonomous oblast and has amplified the distrust of the population towards the state authority, central bodies, and the existing administrative structures.

Numerous appeals by the workers of the oblast, people's deputies, the sessions of the Stepanakert City and rayon soviets, the plenums of party city and rayon committees, and by the USSR people's deputies from NKAO for the restoration of the party and [word indistinct] soviet oblast bodies, have remained unattended. Also, those assurances that M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave during the meeting with the people's deputies from NKAO and the leaders of the oblast were not realized.

Experience has shown that all the decisions about NKAO contrary to the will of the native Armenian population have failed.

The strikes in NKAO have continued for almost 4 months now. The Special Administration Committee is not in a position to administer the oblast; the people are on the verge of physical and emotional collapse. The congress of the plenipotentiary representatives of the NKAO population, having lost the belief that the leadership of the country has the intention of solving the NKAO problem in a just manner and basing itself on the inalienable right of each people for survival, has elected a National Council to administer the autonomous oblast.

All the local party and soviet bodies have actively participated in the preparations and convening of the congress and have unreservedly recognized it as the sole legal authority of the oblast elected by the people for the people.

The National Council is independent and is responsible only to the congress. Its decisions have mandatory application over the entire territory of NKAO.

The priority of the National Council is to stabilize the situation in the NKAO, to halt bloodshed, and to prevent conflicts on interethnic grounds.

The congress declares NKAO an independent soviet territory. The enforcement of the Azerbaijan SSR constitution, the Azerbaijan SSR laws pertaining to NKAO and other statutes of the republic in the oblast territory is hereby terminated. The intervention of Azerbaijan SSR in the affairs of the autonomous oblast will be regarded as an act of aggression and will be given the appropriate [word indistinct]. The congress appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of the union republics to recognize the National Council of NKAO as the sole legal authority in the NKAO and to assist it in the speedy restoration of the constitutional forms of administration of NKAO independently of Azerbaijan.

The congress appeals to the democratic states and governments of the world and to the secretary general of the United Nations Organization to assist the aspirations of the Armenian population of NKAO for self-determination and independence.

The congress calls on the oblast's population to consolidate its unity and not to succumb to provocations. The success of our sacred endeavor depends on our cohesiveness and on being organized.

NKAO Congress Resolution Noted

NC2708091089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Yerevan, 22 Aug (ARMENPRES)—[passage omitted]

The congress of the plenipontiary representatives of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]

Expounding the minutes of the past sessions and plenums of the local soviets, party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations and the meetings of the labor collectives and public organizations;

Continuing efforts to overcome all that erodes people's belief in restructuring;

Basing itself on the USSR Constitution and on the guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference and the Congress of People's Deputies for further democratization of public affairs and consolidation of the principle of people's rule, hereby decides:

1. Proceeding from the population's will as reflected in the plenums of the people's deputies, rayon and city soviets, party rayon and city committees, trade unions, komsomols, and public organizations, and in the decisions of the meetings of the labor collectives and village plenipotentiaries aimed at stabilizing the situation in the region, the congress hereby elects a National Council to operate until the functions of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and oblast party committee are reinstituted, and in the name of the people empowers it with an administrative role in all the spheres of the administration of the oblast between the congresses.

The National Council is a democratic body of the people; it has emerged from restructuring and through the creativity of the popular masses; it has assumed full powers in the USSR [sentence as received]; it belongs to the people with a goal to provide real content, in practical terms, to basic political principles.

2. The National Council elects from its members a presidium to administer the upcoming work. The National Council and its presidium's priority is to stabilize the situation, prevent interethnic clashes, contribute actively to restructuring, develop openness and democracy, and resolve the NKAO problem.

The National Council and its presidium is a cohesive popular body of communists and nonparty people. The National Council and its presidium, proceeding from CPSU laws and regulations and acting within the framework of Soviet laws in the interest of the people, will implement their policy through the local soviets of people's deputies and party committees; the soviets of trade unions, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol], and labor collectives; and through public organizations. The responsibilities and the powers of the National Council and its presidium have been determined by the regulations of the present congress.

3. The congress hereby declares its resolve to work for the reunification of the NKAO with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic.

4. The congress condemns in the strongest terms any attempt by the Azerbaijani government to interfere in the internal affairs of the oblast and consider the policy of instructions toward the autonomous oblast as unacceptable.

5. The delegates of the congress welcome the decision of the Shahumyan "village" rayon soviet of people's deputies to reunite with NKAO, and express their readiness to assist in a solution to this problem.

6. The congress calls on the population of the oblast to end the strikes and instructs the National Council to take all measures necessary to restore the normal labor rhythm over the entire oblast.

7. The congress calls upon the National Council to draw up a relevant plan for the realization of the objectives.

8. The congress endorses the USSR state flag for the oblast's territory as the symbol of state sovereignty.

Azerbaijan Condemns NKAO Congress

NC2608190089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1600 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Decision issued by the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic on "an unconstitutional measure in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast," in Baku; date not given]

[Text] A [word indistinct] meeting described as the congress of plenipotentiary representatives of the people of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was held in Stepanakert on 16 August. This unfortunate congress announced that the NKAO has decided against remaining as an autonomous oblast within the framework of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and declared the oblast to be an independent alliance region, in which the implementation of Azerbaijan SSR's Constitution and laws has been suspended.

Representatives of Azerbaijanis and other nationalities in the NKAO did not participate in this (?unjust) congress.

The meeting established a national council, which was described as an institution representing popular sovereignty. This is an attempt to deprive the special administration committee of its powers.

All this is an unprecedented (?effort) to vest supreme power in the National Council, a move which is a plot against state sovereignty. It is a new and unconstitutional move by the nationalist and separatist forces that have usurped power.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has therefore adopted the following decision:

1. It must be confirmed that the decision adopted by the unfortunate congress conflicts with law and the establishment of a National Council in the NKAO is unconstitutional. It seeks to further provoke interethnic discord and to wrest the NKAO from Azerbaijan.

2. The attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium should be drawn to the fact that the [word indistinct] congress has unlawfully declared the special administration committee in the NKAO, which was established in accordance with the 12 January decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to be inoperative.

[Signed] Elmira Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Prsidium, and Rofiga Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Baku City, 26 August 1989.

Troop Withdrawal From NKAO Denied

NC2708105989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] There have been rumors that the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] intends to withdraw interior troop units and subunits assigned there to maintain public order. The ARMENPRES correspondent asked Arkadi Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee, to comment on this.

These rumors are unfounded, said Volskiy. However, it is easy to guess why these rumors started. Irresponsible Armenians and Azerbaijanis have expressed growing dissatisfaction with the presence of the interior troops subunits. Citizens have frequently refused to submit to the troop and militia units. These troops are assigned to protect the people, and to prevent mass interethnic clashes and other illegal activities. Numerous attacks on Army servicemen have taken place. Certain leaders of nonofficial organizations have appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission to have troops withdrawn from the NKAO. The Special Administration Committee appeal to the NKAO population published in KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH declares: We know that this and similar other provocative declarations are intended solely to destabilize the situation and to unleash fratricide. Under the circumstances withdrawing the troops would be untimely and dangerous.

The Special Administration Committee and the commandant of the Special District have received letters from citizens and labor collectives sharply criticizing even the [word indistinct] of the possibility of troop withdrawal, and they condemn the raising of such a question by irresponsible people.

Azerbaijan's Zeynalov Visits NKAO

NC1608115089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 15 Aug 89

[Text] Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, visited the town of Khodzhaly, which is inhabited by Azerbaijanis and located in Askeran Rayon in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] on 13 August. He familiarized himself with agricultural work and the measures taken to construct branches of industrial establishments, create additional work places, construct social installations, including installations for gas supply, lay water supply pipelines, construct individual houses, and resettle refugees who have temporarily left their place of birth.

Comrade Zeynalov discussed in detail the work carried out by the republic's organizations to fulfill the tasks established by the party and government decisions on the NKAO and called for by the documents drawn up by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's council of ministers. it was noted that solving these problems directly depends on the success of reconstruction and the contribution to be made by everyone to removing the problems inherited from [words indistinct].

Particular attention was focused on the situation that has been created in the autonomous oblast and ways of removing tension in interethnic relations. It was noted that the situation can only rectified through peaceful means within the framework of the constitutions of Azerbaijan and the Soviet Union.

The need to remove extremism and to refrain from avoiding the settlement of [word indistinct] problems were emphasized.

The residents of Khodzhaly put forward a number of recommendations and suggestions, including critical views, during [words indistinct].

Vagif Seferov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, member of the NKAO special administration committee, and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Shusha Rayon Party Committee, participated in the visit and in the meetings.

Azerbaijan Party Discusses Criminal Activity

NC1608094089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 13 Aug 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The State Committee for Legal Affairs of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee held a meeting under Afrand Dashdamirov to examine the tasks of the law enforcement organs in the efforts to maintain stability and (?further organize) measures to combat criminal activity in the republic. It was noted during the meeting that the tasks related to consolidating law and order and strengthening the struggle against breaches of law in the republic were not being realized in a productive way. Recent criminal activity has shown dangerous trends, particularly serious offenses. Criminals are able to acquire and use weapons more easily. There are many (?cases) indicating a systematic disruption of law and order.

It was also noted that the strengthening of relations with the people and the work collectives is one way to make the law enforcement organs more productive. [passage indistinct] Discussing the struggle against crime in the republic, the committee pointed to the need for drawing up a republic-wide program for combating crime by January 1990. The newspapers published detailed information on the committee's meeting today.

Weapons Seized, People Detained in Abkhaziya

Troops Describe Situation

LD2808084689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0600 GMT on 28 August broadcasts a 3-minute report updating the situation in Abkhaziya.

"Seven weeks ago in Abkhaziya a conflict took place owing to interethnic causes. Today the situation in the autonomous republic remains tense. Listen to the report of our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko."

Omelchenko reports that it is business as usual for locals, although the deserted beaches are reminders of closed season. Another feature giving the lie to the illusion of normality is the military details of internal troops, "soldiers and cadets with full kit, in helmets and armored vests, with submachine guns," billeted in boarding houses and sanatoria. Omelchenko speaks to some in their rare free moments.

The first cadet recalls how he recaptured an escaped criminal in Gagra. A second remembers most vividly how he was greeted with flowers. He says that it has quietened down and remarks that the Abkhazian people are very hospitable. A third cadet says that the disorders have been well planned and claims that some group exists which opposes perestroyka and finances the disturbances.

Confiscation of Arms 'Continuing'

LD2708101289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] The USSR Interior Ministry's temporary press center in Abkhaziya reports:

The special regime governing the conduct of citizens continues to operate on the territory of the autonomous republic. On the night of 26-27 August 166 people were detained by combined details of internal troops and internal affairs bodies for breach of the regulations on movement in the conditions of this regime.

Work to confiscate arms from the population is continuing: In the past 24 hours 12 hunting rifles have been either confiscated from citizens, or else voluntarily surrendered by them to the internal affairs bodies.

In the interests of the safety of the populace and in the interests of the further stabilization of the situation in Abkhaziya, the USSR MVD [Internal Ministry] is appealing to citizens to report to the internal affairs bodies and to the subunits of internal troops on the whereabouts of firearms, ammunition and explosives.

10 Firearms Seized

LD2608124189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Our next report is from Abkhaziya. In the past 24 hours, the enterprises, establishments, and transport have worked normally here. The situation in the autonomous republic is being monitored [pod kontrolem] by the party, local soviet, and law-enforcement bodies. On the night of August 25-26, 133 people were detained for breach of the peace. The work on the seizure of firearms from the population continues. In the past 24 hours, a total of 10 have been seized. Several people have been prosecuted on criminal charges for unlawfully keeping and carrying firearms, ammunition, and explosives. Meanwhile, persons who voluntarily hand over weapons that they kept unlawfully are discharged from criminal charges.

147 People Detained

LD2508144889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Abkhaziya reports:

The situation in the autonomous republic is being monitored by party, local soviet, and law enforcing bodies. During the past 24 hours enterprises, establishments, and all types of transport have been working at a normal rythmn. During the night of 24-25 August 147 people were detained for violating the established procedure for movement under the conditions of the special rules for the conduct of citizens. The work of searching for and confiscating arms from the population is continuing. The CPSU draft platform on the national policies of the party under contemporary conditions that was published in the press has evoked a widespread response in the autonomous republic. The overwhelming majority of the multinational population and workers considers that the draft shows realistic paths for getting out of the situation that has taken shape.

Everybody interested in the normalization of life in Abkhaziya is showing maximum self-possession and good sense and is not yielding to the provocations of those who would like to cause a further aggravation in the situation. Representatives of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, veterans of war and labor, and the youth, discussing the CPSU draft platform, emphasize that the only sure way of resolving all interethnic problems is respectful dialogue and active work at the negotiating table.

Torrential Rains Cause Damage in Georgia

LD1608153589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1504 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] Kutaisi, 16 Aug (GRUZINFORM-TASS)—The permissible water level of the Rioni river has been exceeded by more than 2 meters as a result of torrential rains with hail. A motorway, bridges, and power transmission line in the Onskiy Rayon have been destroyed. Damage has been inflicted to the villages, including the spa Shovi, which is of all-union importance and which is situated in this mountainous region of west Georgia.

The Tskhenis-Tskali river has overflowed its banks in Lentekhi Rayon: Communications with a number of villages was broken off, a long section of the road was damaged, 12 bridges and ferries were swept away. Around 100 hectares of areas on which perennial grasses and corn were sown were flooded.

Special commissions for elimination of the consequences of the natural calamity have been set up, rescue works are carried out everywhere.

Armenian Commission on Refugee Affairs Meets

NC2508194889 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 21 Aug 89

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Aug (ARMENPRES)—A regular session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commission on refugee affairs has been held under commission chairman V. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and deputy.

Directors of ministries and supervisory boards, representatives of organizations, and members of a group aiding refugees from Azerbaijan participated in the meeting.

S. Megrabyan, commission secretary and Armenian Supreme Soviet deputy, delivered a report on the Azeri and Armenian population migration since mid-1988.

According to figures released on 1 August, the number of Armenian refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR stood at 198,898 while 147,971 Azeri nationals have left the Armenian SSR.

Since March of the last year, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has been working with the relevant organizations to bring about the voluntary repatriation of the refugees. However, these efforts have produced no tangible results. Most of the refugeees are reluctant to return because of fears about their security and the insults and injustice they have suffered.

The 15 April decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to create the necessary conditions for the repatriation of Azeri and Armenian citizens also sought to provide social protection to the refugees.

Proceeding from the real conditions and considering that the housing and education problems of the overwhelming mass of citizens from the Azerbaijan SSR will not be solved for a long time to come, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers approved a decision on 10 February of this year on measures to check population migration and to provide social protection to those who have left their homes.

A number of the refugees' housing and social problems are being solved on the basis of the 17 July decision of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers on measures to protect the housing and social rights of citizens outside its borders who were forced to leave their homes.

An administration dealing with the refugee problems affiliated to the Armenian SSR government was established recently. This administration is a part of the interrepublic commission dealing with the return of Azeri and Armenian citizens to their homes and the payment of compensation for damages.

The provision of jobs, housing, and education is currently being debated in light of these decisions.

The meeting also discussed a number of urgent problems facing the refugees.

In coming days a meeting of the representatives of the two republics will take place within the framework of the interrepublic commission. During the meeting compensation for property and houses and the payment of pensions and other benefits will be discussed and resolved.

It has been decided to design and build 15 cooperative residential buildings in Baghramyanskiy rayon and the towns of Apovyan, Razdan and Charentsavan towns. Similar housing will also be built in Araratskiy and Ashtarakskiy rayons.

Other issues relating to the improvement of the living conditions of the refugees were also discussed at the meeting.

Armenian Presidium Annuls Electoral Okrug Decision

NC1608104689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 16 Aug 89

[Text] On 11 August 1989, the electoral committee of electoral okrug No 194 in Charentsavan registered Arkadiy Manucharov, who is currently in detention, as a candidate in the election for deputies to the Armenian Supreme Soviet, alongside a number of other candidates. However, under Article 96 of the Soviet Constitution, persons in detention cannot participate in elections. Furthermore, under Article 74 of the Soviet Constitution, the laws of the USSR are (?in force) in the territory of all union republics and take precedence in the event of a (?conflict) between them and the laws of a republic. (?In light) of the articles of the Soviet Constitution, the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet found the decision of the okrug electoral committee to register Arkady Manusharov as a candidate for deputy to be in contravention of existing laws. It therefore annuled the 11 August decision of the electoral committee of electroral okrug No 194 in Charentsavan to register Manusharov as a candidate for deputy in the republic's supreme soviet.

Leningrad Party Resolution Highlighted

LD2608162589 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 26 Aug 89

Text] Leningrad August 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov:

"Leningrad Communist Party leaders believe that radical democratisation of party life based on an integral scientific concept is necessary, and the development of such a concept has become an urgent need," Leningrad Communists said in a resolution published today.

The document, summing up the opinion of nearly 600,000 party members, was adopted at a meeting of the

Leningrad party organisation which opened a week ago and passed in an atmosphere of an open and extremely sharp discussion.

"In a bid to coordinate the efforts of the Communists of the Russian Federation in the republic's economic development and the solution of social, ecological and cultural tasks, the Leningrad party organisation suggests that a republican party organisation with elective governing bodies be set up. At the same time, the Soviet Communist Party should remain a united organisation. Any attempts to counterpose or infringe on the rights of the Soviet nations and nationalities are not acceptable either. All Soviet citizens should have equal rights irrespective of their nationality," the resolution said.

The resolution recognises a strike as an extreme measure to respond to the inactivity of a bureaucratic apparatus and calls for developing a mechanism of settling labour disputes, jointly with government bodies and trade unions, so that to exclude the possibility of satisfying the needs of one category of workers at the expense of other groups. [sentence as received]

Truck Drivers in Leningrad Renew Strike 25 Aug

LD2508161289 Moscow TASS in English 1512 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—Truck drivers of a transport enterprise in Leningrad resumed their strike in the morning today, the newspaper IZVESTIYA reported.

On August 7 and 8, they went on strike in protest against the decision of the city authorities to liquidate the enterprise. On the evening of the second day, the executive committee of the Leningrad City council revoked its decision and the strike committee suspended the strike.

Today was the deadline for meeting the drivers' second demand, namely that the enterprise, which belongs to the Leningrad automobile transport department, be turned over to the Leningrad agro-industrial department.

Two days before the deadline, the strike committee told the city council that it was time to take a decision. However, the uncertainty remained until today.

Representatives of the strike committee went to Moscow and appealed to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and the Russian Federation and to the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, but to no avail.

Chernobyl Zone Villages Call for Strike

18270140 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Aug 89 p 4

[TASS correspondent Yu. Lodkin report: "The 'Messengers' of Lyubovsho"]

[Text] Lyubovsho, Bryansk Oblast—The initiative group for the inhabitants of the village of Lyubovsho in Bryansk Oblast, which following the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station found itself within the zone of contamination, has called on its own villagers to start a protest strike. They have been demanding a solution to the question of the payment to each inhabitant of a monthly allowance of R30 to purchase clean food products. The appeal has also been supported by the deputies in the village soviet.

The conflict we are talking about arose 3 years ago soon after the USSR Ministry of Health recommended that all dairy and beef cattle contaminated by radiation be removed from the personal farms of villages in the region. In order to to acquire clean products their inhabitants started to receive a monthly allowance of R30. But the rest, including those in Lyubovsho village, were refused the food allowance.

For a time the inhabitants of Lyubovsho reconciled themselves to the situation. Soon, however, it became clear that the milk that they are obtaining from their own cows is by no means harmless.

"We went all over Moscow trying to find out the truth," says seamstress P. Bobrova. "We were at the State Committee for Hydrometeorology, the all-union and republic ministries of health, and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, and finally we visited the reception offices of the USSR Council of Ministers. We left a letter there containing a request to look into our troubles and reach a just decision."

They awaited a reply for some months. And they waited. The letter from the inhabitants of the village had been sent from Moscow to the local authorities "to take steps and offer explanations." The latter were able only to "explain" that a decision on the question of the allowance for the purchase of clean produce lay within the competence of the all-union and republic authorities. The circle was closed.

Meanwhile, many families had already surrendered their cows to the meat combines. In the village where during the year of the Chernobyl accident there were more than 200 cows, today there are barely three dozen. Many people, particularly pensioners and families with many children, found themselves in a difficult position after the loss of the "dairy breadwinners."

The question of the allowances is upsetting not only the inhabitants of Lyubovsho. Some 328 villages and hamlets with a population of about 160,000, are located within the "unconsidered" zone of radioactive contamination. Up to 70 percent of the milk obtained on personal plots is radioactive. Even with the active use of agrochemical decontamination work, clean livestock produce can be obtained there only after several years.

The strike, of course, is not the solution to the situation, but people have been forced to resort to it in order somehow to draw the attention of the leadership to the acute problem affecting the interests of tens of thousands of the inhabitants of the region, which is in trouble through no fault of its own.

Orenburg Party Chief Resigns; Replaced 25 Aug

LD2508173389 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Orenburg August 25 TASS—The Party Committee of the Russian Federation's Orenburg region, at a plenary meeting here today, relieved Anatoliy Balandin of the duties of first secretary of the regional committee at his personal request.

Balandin, who retired on a pension, has been replaced with Anatoliy Kolinichenko, the former second secretary of the same committee.

Professor Comments on Ethnic Relations in Dagestan

LD2508142189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The small mountain republic of Dagestan is one of the most multiethnic in our country. There are representatives of over 100 nations and ethnic groups—in essence our entire country in miniature. And, of course, questions of ethnic relations have always been topical for Dagestan. [passage omitted]

Professor (Akhet Khadzhimuradovich Agayev), professor of philosophy of Dagestan Lenin State University, reflects on how to overcome the tense situation, how to make every people living both in the caucasus and in our country feel itself equal, how to revive relations of brotherhood and friendship.

[Begin (Agayev) recording] [Passage omitted] for Dagestan the problem of ethnic relations is extremely important and topical. Over the entire history of this republic, in the whole history of Dagestan there has not been an occasion when any one people occupied a dominant position and enjoyed any sort of privileges. This naturally occurring equality of the peoples of Dagestan, large and small, is the foundation, both political, moral, psychological and ethical, on whose basis equality is practiced in Dagestan now, and this is exceptionally important for the development of their friendly feelings, their friendly relations. [passage omitted]

At the same time, our working people realise that it is only on the principles of equality, equal rights, friendship, and self-determination that we can tackle all the relations between nationalities which are unfortunately [words indistinct] deteriorating in some places. In particular in the northern part of Dagestan there are now some negative trends being observed: in the area of national and religious relations some deterioration has occurred. [passage omitted]

Call for Strikes in Ukraine Called 'Groundless'

LD2708143889 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0230 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] In its 15 August issue, the Lvov paper LENINSKA MOLOD published a report by (sorochik), USSR people's deputy, on a meeting in Kiev of members of the interregional group of deputies from Ukraine. The meeting was convened to discuss the draft bill on electing people's deputies to Ukrainian republican bodies.

According to the newspaper, at this meeting deputy [name indistinct] stated openly that he does not believe that the discussion, now taking place, will be of any use and appealed for all efforts to be concentrated on the variant of an alternative draft. And although no such alternative document exists as yet—first it has to be worked out by participants of the meeting—members of the interregional group of deputies have appealed to all work collectives to join the struggle for the alternative draft bill on elections. They have also called upon all Ukraine citizens to come out on 2 September to a republic-wide meeting to register their attitude to the projected elections. Should the appropriate power bodies reject the alternative draft, they intend to call for a general boycott of the elections and for (?demonstrations) and strikes.

Participants in the meeting have also decided to address an open letter to the deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet with certain demands about the future law and the principles of forming the deputies' corps.

A group of USSR people's deputies and deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme soviet has requested RATAU [RADIO AND TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY of UKRAINE] to distribute among newspapers of the republic their reply to this call.

The reply notes that the discussion of the draft election bill is taking place in a genuine democratic atmosphere, in which everyone can express his opinion or submit proposals. Articles in the republican and local press testify to this. And this process must be free of any pressure of escalating tension or attempts to replace reason with emotions. Such tricks have nothing in common with genuine democracy.

Therefore it is strange and completely unacceptable that members of the interregional group resort to ultimatums. This creates a much more serious situation than the display of plain emotions or even ambitions, even more so since a number of points in the open letter from USSR people's deputies in Ukraine to deputies of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet contradict the USSR Constitution.

At a time when the republic, just as the whole country, is trying to solve complicated social and economic problems, the call for strikes is groundless. It is not only not permissible, but from the political point of view is extremely dangerous, even more so since it is being made by USSR people's deputies. We are calling upon you to weigh carefully the political and economic situation which is prevailing and think about the possible consequences that (?would ensue) from an unbalanced attitude to such an important political matter.

Voroshilovgrad Obkom Discusses Strike Aftermath

PM1608115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA stringer P. Mazalov dispatch: "In the Wake of the Strike"]

[Text] Voroshilovgrad, 13 Aug—The recent strikes spread to 75 of the 93 mines operating in Voroshilovgrad Oblast. The causes of people's dissatisfaction were analyzed at a plenum of the oblast party committee [obkom]. Representatives of all strike committees took part in its work and addressed it.

While noting that many of the miners' demands are justified, the plenum participants believe that strikes are unacceptable as a method for solving problems which have been building up for years. Primarily because they lead to enormous material losses. Here they are. Coal extraction losses between 18 and 28 July amounted to more than 1 million tonnes. Up to 60 percent of coal faces are unworkable. Mines have been unable to regain their work pace to this day. According to preliminary estimates, the total loss is in excess of R70 million. In July alone contract delivery shortfalls by the oblast's coal enterprises amounted to R21 million.

The strike and the party committee's stance—this was the direction that the plenum discussion took. Many party committees took part in the setting up of strike committees. There were no strikes in Lisichansk and Sverdlovsk because the city party committees there, while understanding and fully sharing the miners' pain and grievances, managed to persuade them to strive for justice by peaceful means, as it were.

At the same time, plenum participants said, the strikes spotlighted the inertia and lack of initiative of some party committees and organizations. In the complex situation some of them lost their bearings, and this was especially graphically demonstrated in the cities of Stakhanov, Pervomaysk, Kirovsk, and many others. Some party obkom officials also proved unprepared for heated debates. The party aktiv failed to launch a trustful conversation with the strikers. The July events brought to light the weakness and unfitness of the majority of mine trade union committees.

Many speakers spoke of the fact that some strike committees at times put forward unjustified demands, especially addressed to party and soviet organs, to replace leadership worker cadres and to hold party conferences and local soviet elections ahead of schedule. There are cases when, under the influence of extremists, instructions by mine and association administrations are not obeyed even when they concern questions of safety equipment and labor organization, even though the principle of one-man command in enterprise leadership has not been repealed by anyone.

The plenum mapped out ways to normalize the sociopolitical situation in the oblast.

Ukraine Forms Committee To Fight Crime

LD1608140189 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0230 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium has created a temporary committee for fighting crime in the republic. It will be headed by Comrade Shevchenko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Soviet Presidium.

Among its members are leading workers of republican organs of power, in particular of the republic's State Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Committee of State Security, the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court, the Council of Trade Unions, the Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee, and USSR people's deputies elected within the republic.

The temporary committee held its first meeting yesterday [11 August] and discussed the organization of work for fulfilling the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet passed on 4 August this year and entitled "On Resolute Strengthening of the Struggle Against Crime".

Among the speakers were Sologub, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Trade Unions; Golushko, chairman of the republican KGB; Zaychuk, minister of justice; Yakimenko, chairman of the Supreme Court; high officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the State Prosecutor's Office [words indistinct]; and several USSR people's deputies.

The meeting was also addressed by Ivashko, member of the Politburo and second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Lvov Residents Protest Radioactive Waste Dump

LD2508170889 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Lvov August 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Galina Nekrasova:

Protests against dumping industrial radioactive waste in the suburbs of the city of Lvov in the western Ukraine have been voiced by local unofficial organisations. The organisations even started picketing the gates of the enterprise using nuclear substances.

The enterprise's chief engineer Yaroslav Volochia met representatives of the unofficial organisations to tell them about the enterprise and its activity. He said radiphobia among the population arose as a result of keeping the project closed to the public in the past. Fearful rumours began to circulate.

"Not a single case of radioactive contamination of the area has been reported in the thirty years of the enterprise's existence," Volochia said. From across the western Ukraine, radioactive waste, accumulated during the guaranteed term of operation of various devices, is collected for storage in reinforced concrete bunkers 3.5 meters deep. Unfortunately, science has not yet offered any ways to utilize such sources of radiation as iridium-192 and cesium-137. But stringent control ensures the safety of the burial. The background radiation on the premises is as normal as in the city itself".

Representatives of the unofficial organisations satisfied themselves that the information was true by taking measurements on the premises. The amount of background radiation did not exceed 16 rem.

Nevertheless, the executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies has begun a search for an alternative site to bury radioactive waste. Residents fear that, as the city expands, the old dump site will pose a greater danger being in closer proximity to people.

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev Discusses Federal Ties

LD2508170389 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The first secretary of Kazakhstan's Communist Party Central Committee has called for a drastic change in relations between constituent republics and the centre.

In an interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA today Nursultan Nazarbayev said that "republics should fully control their mineral wealth, land and water resources, while central departments that maintain their enterprises on the territory of the republics or that are going to build them there should do this only with permission from the local governing council or on the basis of a treaty with it."

In the political sphere, the Kazakhstan Communist Party leader believes that supremacy of the central legislative authority should be preserved within defined limits.

These limits, he was quoted as saying, "should be agreed upon by the union and the republican Supreme Soviet. Laws should be common in principle. Republican legislation must be adopted on their basis with due account for specific local conditions."

On relations with so-called informal groups, Nazarbayev observed that even through it is not easy to find mutual understanding with them, experience shows that many proposals advanced "from below" can be implemented without delay and with greater benefits.

"One should learn to value active people, rather than look at them as trouble-makers," he was quoted as saying. "I'm convinced that many of them can be promoted to party and government posts as already now they act as true leaders."

Nazarbayev cautioned against "actions that might sow seeds of mistrust and suspicion between representatives of various ethnic groups."

"The time itself calls for specific deeds to implement ideas of perestroika, rather than for assurances about commitment to these ideas," he said.

"People ought to feel that the party knows burning problems, does not evade hardships but confidently and boldly strives to handle them."

Falin Interviewed on Nonaggression Pact

PM2208125589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Valentin Falin, doctor of historical sciences, by TASS Deputy General Director Vyacheslav Kevorkov: "Alternatives of 1939"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] Today, 50 years later, the fall of 1939 is riveting people's attention because time does not erase the wounds and the pain of World War II. Debates are proceeding with new force about the causes and circumstances which gave rise to this tragedy and documents extracted from the silence of the archives are being subjected to critical consideration.

At IZVESTIYA's request Vyacheslav Kevorkov, deputy general director of TASS, talks with Valentin Falin, doctor of historical sciences, a well known Soviet Germanist.

[Kevorkov] It is 50 years since the start of World War II which greatly changed the appearance of the earth and effected in one way or another the life of nearly everyone on earth. In disputes on the genesis of this tragedy sometimes contradictory opinions are voiced behind which there obviously stand different interests. In particular there is an obvious desire on the part of certain circles to reduce the subject of study to Soviet-German relations and to restrict it in time to August 1939, the moment of Europe's immediate transition from a "cold" war to a "hot" war. You will agree, Valentin Mikhaylovich, that a unique phenomenon or, to be precise, another stereotype, is being created.

[Falin] I agree with you. There are several explanations for this phenomenon. On the one hand, a considerable number of previously unknown materials and documents have been put into circulation, often illuminating the prewar upheavals in an absolutely different perspective. Second, the West is yet again vainly trying to avoid responsibility for disrupting efforts to create a system of collective security capable of halting fascist aggression and of finding someone to blame for every ill in the shape of the USSR, which had allegedly made the wrong choice from the options which history offered us. Third and last and perhaps most important: The interpretation now being foisted on us of events which seemingly took place long ago is inseparable from the constant and consistent attempts to shake existing realities, to resurrect the question of revising the political, social, and territorial results of World War II. I think it is that last circumstance which determines the unprecedented keenness of the polemics and the massive attacks on the Soviet-German 1939 nonaggression treaty and the excesses or crude forgeries in issuing the facts which preceded and attended it.

As for the most sinister 50-year anniversary in my view that is secondary. The processes taking place primarily in our own home are paramount. Had perestroyka begun 20 years earlier much would long have lost its topicality, because the economic, social, and national situation in the country would be completely different. There would not be the temptation to turn the restoration of historical truth into a settling of accounts.

[Kevorkov] The excesses in assessments of the past which are being observed are not that harmless. They are in fact aimed against the entire system of accords which lay at the basis of the postwar world structure. In Europe the Moscow treaty and other "eastern" treaties with the FRG are in the firing line, especially the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and they are the pivot of stability on our continent.

[Falin] In general that is always the case when historians and lawyers discuss the situation. The truth in this case is not only unnecessary, it gets in the way. After all what they are trying to prove is not what happened but what they would like to have now. Make out that the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty was a compact between two aggressions "on dividing Europe into spheres of influence" and the desired shadow is case on the legality of the territorial structure in East Europe. You talk of the destabilizing effect. But it is precisely this effect which some people would like to promote. [passage omitted]

[Kevorkov] Let's turn to international affairs and put the question like this: Let's imagine that in 1939 a different politician had been in Stalin's place. What decisions could have been expected from him in this specific situation?

[Falin] [Passage omitted] We ourselves can curse Stalin for his deviations from Leninist foreign policy norms, for the opportunism graphically manifested after 1 September 1939, for methods alien to us in conducting affairs with third countries. I am prepared to note that the deviation was greater, particularly on the moral plane, than could be allowed even in those extraordinary conditions of isolation in which the Soviet Union found itself at the time. That is the first point.

Second. The seriousness of the problem does not tolerate outlines aimed at incompetents. For instance, M.M. Litvinov was "good" because he steered a line toward creating a system of collective security while V.M. Molotov was "bad" because when he took charge of the People's Commissariat of International Affairs 3 May 1939 he "came to an understanding" with Ribbentrop. History gains nothing when its authors divided people into "clean" and "unclean" by analogy with biblical legend. The doctrine of collective security was not M.M. Litvinov's personal creation just as the treaty on nonaggression with Germany was not the work of Molotov's imagination. Neither would have taken a step without Stalin.

Third. If a different politician had been in Stalin's place. I do not know how the world would have developed through 1938 inclusive but if you analyze the situation as it had taken shape in August 1939 then the Soviet leadership did not have a great choice—either to conclude a nonaggression treaty with Germany or to go with the current to meet a fate determined for us by others. I note that major Polish, British, and West German authorities in the historical field think the same. [passage omitted]

[Kevorkov] The subject of the secret additions to the 1939 act generate the keenest disputes. How are we to treat the copies which have been distributed in the West and which many scholars trust entirely?

[Falin] On the basis of archive materials which have been revealed, including recently, an unequivocal answer may be given to this question: Although the originals have not been discovered either in the West or in our country, the protocol did exist. The copies which have been circulated to not contradict the present level of knowledge of the content of the protocol and the real course of events.

On the other hand interpreting all subsequent events through the prism of the 23 August treaty and the protocol to it would be doing violence to history. On that same day, 23 August, a secret trip to Britain by Goering was scheduled. Since Stalin agreed to receive Ribbentrop, he remained at home. But the contact with London was not broken off—Hitler received Ambassador Henderson for a talk about a "historical compromise": between the two powers on which peace in Europe and its environs should rest. Hitler and Henderson agreed that if Britain, to "save its honor," came out on Poland's side, it would wage a "pretend war." Eventually that is what happened. France and Britain did not give the Germans any trouble throughout the "Polish campaign." Quiet prevailed on the "Western Front." [passage omitted]

[Falin] The world war began precisely in this way because imperialist class interest outweighed national interests at the first stage. The bourgeois researcher B. Selovskiy [name as transliterated] rightly wrote that Britain and France entered the war not against the Nazi regime but against the Nazi regime's foreign policy, which took an undesirable turn for these countries. Let us also write that down to remember.

But the main conclusion with which I would like to end is that World War II could quite well not have happened. It was not programed by history but was the fruit of human deeds and human imperfection. If we continue to seek to divide what cannot be divided, which is something we engaged in zealously before the two world wars, and to carve and recarve land and borders, disregarding people's lives and security, then we shall bring upon ourselves an even worse disaster and, this time, the last disaster.

NOVOSTI Criticizes Article on 1939 Events

LD2508170189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Statement by NOVOSTI Press Agency"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow 25 Aug (TASS)—The NOVOSTI Press Agency or APN has expressed its resolute disagreement with the publication by the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI of an article entitled "Stalin at the Start of 1939", the author of which, in APN's words "attempted to embellish the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and France toward Hitlerite Germany, and their refusal to establish relations of cooperation with the Soviet Union."

An APN statement isued today says that the article by Professor Dashichev, a doctor of historical sciences, which appears in issue no 35 of the newspaper "asserts, despite authentic documents that are today familiar to us, that Britain and France supposedly put forward all the steps that depended on them to reach agreement with the Soviet Union in the summer and fall of 1939, and that it was the Soviet leadership that consciously torpedoed the "projects and proposals of the Western powers, using any pretext to do so." [quotation marks as received]

"Nor is the author's assertion that the Soviet Union had an interest in the unleashing of World War II in keeping with the historical truth. Supposedly Stalin needed the war in order to "fan the fire of world revolution in Europe" and to export revolution to one or more countries. Even those who wish ill on the Soviet Union do not hazard such conjectures," stresses the statement.

As the publisher of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, the agency has expressed perplexity over the fact that the editorial board did not find the time to investigate the essence of the matter and has thus misled its readers and displayed a lack of respect for historical facts.

Shakhnazarov on Gorbachev Personality, Power

LD2508132189 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The knack of understanding a diversity of interests and taking them into account is the chief quality of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Georgiy Shakhnazarov, assistant to the Soviet president and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said in an interview published in the latest issue of the journal GORIZONT.

"The readiness to lend an ear to different opinions and integrate them into a single whole is characteristic of Gorbachev," Shakhnazarov said.

"He almost always introduces his own element to all questions because he is a person with active independent thinking. What we give to him serves only as subsidiary material. But one should say that he highly respects the work of the collective—both assistants and all those who are invited to participate in the effort.

"That our views do not always fully coincide is another thing. And this is only natural. Sometimes he disagrees with us and we try to prove something to him. Arguments really ensue but one should say that he is a democratic person.

"There is nothing resembling hierarchic rigid discipline in our relations. A truly creative process evolves, as a result of consideration by the leading bodies," Shakhnazarov said.

"Gorbachev never permits himself to offend anyone by rude words or in some other way.

"He finds such a form for expressing dissatisfaction that it is not insulting. He is firm and resolute when necesary. If he is dissatisfied with something, he tells you straight but in a non-offending manner."

During international talks the president shows both a desire to uphold his point of view, a search for a compromise, and drive, Shakhnazarov pointed out.

"He is an exceptionally staunch person and ardently upholds his point of view, argues, and at the same time constanly listens to the inrterlocutor. If the latter says something deserving attention, he is sure to perceive it without fail.

"It also happens, of course, that Gorbachev may change his point of view with due regard for objections.

"Even if he had an opinion of his own but the interlocutor proved to him that this was not right, he agrees, as a rule, that his interlocutor is perhaps right," Shakhnazarov said.

He pointed out that "there is nothing worse for a politician than obstincy and unwillingness to recognise the fallacy of one's approach".

Shakhnazarov said there was no danger that Gorbachev's great popularity might lead to another personality cult in the Soviet Union.

A reform of the politifcal system is being effected and the role of the local governing councils is being raised expressly for the sake of preventing the development of a new personality cult, Shakhnazarov emphasised.

"In 1985 when Gorbachev took office as general secetary, this ensured the possibility of being in command of everything. And it did not occur to anyone to dispute the possibility. He quite possibly could take any political moves just by issuing orders. But, instead, he himself is busy creating a system in which he is placing himself under control".

"He is a reformer. He wants to make our system democratic and to enable our country to advance steadily in its development. therefore he, to my mind, has no desire to cling to power at all costs. What he wants is precisely to create such a system in which the next leader would not have an opportunity to get out of the people's control," Shakhnazarov emphasised.

Ex-Prisoners Meet With Senior KGB Officials

LD2508155489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Aug (TASS)—Within the past few days there has been one of the thus-far rare meetings in Moscow between former camp inmates and exiles who served sentences for political charges in the 1930's to the 1950's, and senior officials from the USSR KGB apparatus, IZVESTIYA reports today.

Matters relating to material compensation for the ex-convicts were discussed, as was their continued social rehabilitation.

The stream of requests from people who were repressed is constantly growing, and has increased several times over for Moscow alone. Intensive work is being undertaken to process these requests. The process is far from simple—many archives were lost in the war years and witnesses are no longer alive.

The Association of Former Camp Inmates and Exiles was registered in June this year, and has acquired the status of an official organization as well as its own premises. The association numbers more than 500 members, and its main tasks are to destalinize society, not to permit a repetition of the mistakes of the past, and to assist and support the victims of the illegal repressions. In the near future it plans to start publication of its own bulletin and collections of the memoirs of association members.

Official Notes New Foreign Travel Regulations

LD2508122189 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The opportunities for Soviet citizens to travel abroad without encountering bureaucratic obstacles have been considerably increased recently.

The new regulations concerned first of all business trips to socialist countries, Viktor Zelenov, head of the Consular Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said in an interview with the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

A decision of the management of the employing enterprise is enough to allow a person to go abroad.

The foreign ministries of the union republics and interior-ministry agencies in territories and regions in such cases issue foreign passports within several days. Last year, Soviet citizens made 533,000 business trips to socialist countries alone.

Inter-governmental agreements on reciprocal trips of citizens on private invitations on a non-visa basis have been concluded with the majority of socialist countries. An invitation telegram certified by competent bodies is enough, for example, for a Soviet person to go to Hungary. One may go to Hungary for vacation or medical treatment if a sanatorium voucher or a medical institution's document certifying its readiness to receive a person is produced. Similar protocols with regard to other socialist countries are being also drafted, Zelenov said.

Private business trips to these countries can be made with a domestic Soviet passport with an insert issued by Soviet internal affairs agencies. A similar accord has been reached with regard to Soviet tourist groups going there.

In order to go to capitalist or developing countries one should have visas, the obtaining of which takes time, and should submit visa application questionnaires and a number of other documents to embassies.

The Soviet side has succeeded in reaching agreement with Iran, Britain and Sweden on shortening time for the consideration of visa requests, Zelenov said.

These matters are tackled rather promptly in the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. An agreement on non-visa trips with diplomatic passports has been reached with Cyprus. Soviet proposals on these matters are also under consideration in the Foreign Ministries of France, Italy and a number of other countries.

Zelenov assured that the Consular Service seeks to considerably facilitate the entry of foreign citizens into the Soviet Union through the channels of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

A 48-hour period for the issuance of visas has been introduced. The number of multiple visas has been considerably increased. The Soviet Union introduced these rules unilaterally in May 1988 despite the fact that there are much more rigid visa regulations for Soviet business people, scientists and specialists in most Western countries.

Reader Urges Simplification of Foreign Travel

PM1708091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Mail on Last Page": "Contacts and Brakes"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

The procedure for drawing up exit documents has been substantially simplified recently. But the main obstacle to USSR citizens' free movement across the border has not been eliminated—the procedure for allowing exit. Our people without relations and friends abroad are deprived of the opportunity to make frequent foreign trips.

The opponents of free exit from the USSR usually cite the shortage of foreign currency. But these arguments seem unconvincing to me since the state, with a consideration for its financial potential, establishes quotas for the exchange of Soviet money for foreign currency; someone who has no foreign currency will not go abroad even if he receives a passport for foreign travel.

I think we should also consider the experience of the socialist countries. For instance, in Poland you can legally buy from the state freely convertible currency not only at the official exchange rate but also at prices which used to operate on the "black market." At the same time foreign currency speculation has been eliminated. Why should we, too, not establish similar rules?

When talk turns to such resolute measures fears are usually expressed that everyone will immediately rush to go abroad. First, there is nothing bad in that. Second, any private trip abroad, even a brief one, is very expensive and not everyone can afford it. There is also the language barrier which restricts opportunities for individual international tourism.

I believe that the time has come to introduce legislative reinforcement for the freedom of Soviet citizens to leave the USSR in the spirit of the final document of the Vienna meeting. This would promote the development of contacts and the restructuring of our state's relations with other countries.
[Signed] I. Kalinina, Minsk.

Emergency Services Chief Outlines Plans

PM2707151989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies, by L. Chernenko: "If There Were an Accident"; date and place not given; first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The country's new government has started work. The latest issue of PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK discusses those who have been ratified in top state posts by the USSR Supreme Soviet, reporting their action programs, careers, professional experience, and views of current problems in our life.

We present SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers with an interview with V.Kh. Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies.

Vitaliy Khusseynovich Doguzhiyev was born in 1935. He is an Adygei. He graduated from Dnepropetrovsk State University as a mechanical engineer. He is a CPSU member. He worked in Chelyabinsk Oblast as a technological engineer, a design engineer, a shop chief, and from 1967 onward as a director of Ministry of General Machine Building enterprises. Since 1983 he has been USSR deputy minister, first deputy minister, and minister of general machine building.

[Chernenko] Vitaliy Khusseynovich, why was it necessary to set up a State Commission for Emergencies?

[Doguzhiyev] It was an inevitable, albeit belated, outcome of the analysis of the causes of industrial and ecological disasters in our country over the past few years and the actions to prevent them and eliminate their consequences. We need a unified state system for safeguarding the population from industrial catastrophes, accidents, and natural disasters, including timely preparations for action under emergency conditions, clear coordination and communications between the necessary special services, and the implementation of an effective technical policy for the creation of emergency and search-and-rescue equipment.

Disasters cost lives and incur large losses for the economy. In 1988 alone industry suffered 790 major accidents. Each year there are around a million cases of group injuries in the country. Approximately 250-260,000 people die from accidents, poisoning, or injury. These losses are huge and irreversible. And that is why we must take radical measures, create a reliable system for protecting people, improve the safety of equipment, transportation, industrial installations, and enhance technological discipline.

The country has a whole series of departments, organizations, and services responsible for the safety of work in certain sectors and for emergency and rescue work. These are the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Fire Service, the Civil Defense, and others. Many ministries such as the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, and the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry have departmental search-and-rescue and emergency formations.

At the same time, the country has not had an integrated system to ensure the timely and purposeful training of all forces for coordinated action in emergencies and to equip them with the necessary technical and specialized means. Nor was there an integrated organ to ensure that this work was efficiently carried out.

The USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Emergencies is meant to be such an organ. Its organization should ensure the formation of a state system for training people to operate under emergency conditions. In its work the state commission will cooperate with the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment and resolve acute ecological issues. And that is why I, as a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, have been entrusted with leading this committee.

[Chernenko] What tasks, in your view, should the commission resolve as a priority?

[Doguzhiyev] The commission which will be set up should primarily compile an extensive program of forthcoming work and determine the resources and means needed for this. We will also have to elaborate a draft legislative act on this score and submit it for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is of fundamental importance. My opinion is that on the problem of setting up a system for ensuring that the population is safe from industrial and transport accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters we absolutely must bring out a draft act of legislation, and we need a clear-cut and firm legal basis in this area.

[Chernenko] Does this mean that the state commission will not only organize action in emergencies but also organize work to prevent them, in order to enhance the safety of industrial installations and transportation?

[Doguzhiyev] Yes, I think that the main direction of the commission's activity will be to set up a comprehensive state system for ensuring this safety. So we will no longer be in operation solely during the elimination of a disaster or accident. The task of preventing such events should be just as important.

Of course, creating such a statewide system is a large and extremely complex task. It will take a considerable amount of time—perhaps as much as 6 months. After all, this is the first time that such an organ has been set up in our country.

[Chernenko] Yes, this is a new and unprecedented matter. But what can you draw on from the experience of the sector which you used to head?

[Doguzhiyev] My previous job dealt with the development of missile and space-rocket equipment and the creation of unique launching and testing complexes that were specially safeguarded against the risk of explosion or fire. We had to ensure the safekeeping and testing of large volumes of rocket fuel. I also organized work to store and service nuclear missile systems. You will realize, of course, that a most important task in this respect is to ensure the utmost safety and prevent accidents. The main thing in this respect was to foresee everything, even the smallest points, which in the event of a dangerous situation could be decisive. This approach, in my view, is also necessary in shaping a state system for protecting the population against industrial and transport accidents and natural disasters.

A most important aspect of the state commission's forthcoming work will also be to organize cooperation between various departments and services. The similar experience of coordination accumulated during the development of the "Energiya-Buran" space shuttle system, in which more than 1,200 organizations and enterprises under the jurisdiction of many ministries and departments took part, will undoubtedly be of assistance here, too. The task we will now have to resolve is no less complex and important. I will devote all my experience, knowledge, and energy to this job.

Judge Gdlyan Interviewed on USSR 'Mafia'

PM1708091289 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 13 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Judge Telman Gdlyan and his 'close aide,' Nikolay Ivanov by Giulietto Chiesa in Moscow; date not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] Moscow—Our appointment was at No 10 Blagoveshenskiy Avenue—an old building, recently restored. The door carries a black plate which reads: "USSR Prosecutor's Office, Investigator's Department." But the policemen at the entrance would not let me in. Special investigator Telman Gdlyan and his close aide, Nikolay Ivanov were expecting me at 1100 exactly. On the door inside there was the following notice: "The meeting with Deputies Gdlyan and Ivanov will take place at such and such a number, such and such a street." But I am not a voter. An animated conversation was going on behind the door. A senior official was issuing strict instructions to two policemen standing to attention. Then Gdlyan arrived and another discussion took place. At last the door opened and I was allowed in. Ivanov shrugged, with a wry expression: "You have to avoid raising your adrenalin level or you will ruin your day. We are being kept under surveillance. Just imagine: At the first session of the congress I was stopped at the entrance to be frisked. I told them I was a deputy, just like the rest: Are you crazy? One of them said to me: What if you are carrying a gun? There are a whole lot of people who still have to come to terms with the rule-of-law state." So our interview began on the steps, and when we reached the elevator door Ivanov stopped and proudly pointed to a certain spot: "That is where we put the manacles on Churbanov (Brezhnev's son-in-law—L'UNITA editor's note), still in his general's uniform." Ivanov is 37 and has spent 5 years fighting the Uzbek mafia, as has his boss, Telman Gdlyan, a 49-year-old Armenian. The two of them are in total harmony, but Ivanov does not conceal his boundless devotion to his elder. I was meeting with him for the second time. The first time was the day the congress opened. They were in the smoking room of the Kremlin building, extremely tense, watched surreptitiously by the other deputies, in the midst of a most violent campaign of accusations against them. When I approached to request an interview with them Telman Gdlyan, looking even grimmer than usual, replied sharply: "These are domestic matters. I do not intend to talk to foreign journalists." Now things have changed. Gdlyan regrets not having granted his first interview to L'UNITA and in fact he suggested starting our conversation from that very episode. But first, he interviewed his interviewer. He wanted to hear about the Italian Communist Party [PCI], Italy's domestic situation, [Italian Communist Party Secretary General Achille] Occhetto's theoretical stances, and of course the Italian mafia. Almost an hour went by in this way. It was apparent that they have only a vague idea about Italy, but they are clearly curious as well. Then the actual interview began, going on for a further 2 and ½ hours. I have tried to summarize it below in the space available to me.

[Chiesa] So why have you decided to talk to foreign journalists as well?

[Gdlyan] Until the end of June we refused to grant interviews to foreign journalists for a precise reason. We believed that everything would be handled democratically and objectively. But before the congress, during it, and after it we reached the conclusion that a vast provocation was being conducted against our group of investigators with the aim of exonerating the corrupt people in Moscow and releasing from jail the party leaders whom we have indicted. Thus we found ourselves prevented from proving our innocence. Our attempts to reply in the Soviet press failed and now strict censorship operates against us. This is why we decided to talk: to defend ourselves.

[Chiesa] Until last year, on the eve of the 19th congress, the Soviet press talked about you as heroes struggling against the Uzbek mafia. Now the situation is reversed: You are the accused, you have been taken off the case, and the investigation group has been disbanded. What happened, and why?

[Gdlyan] It happened in June 1988. When we found ourselves prevented from subpoenaing a number of lofty figures whose illegal activities had been ascertained. When all legal attempts failed we were forced to turn to the public. We did so through the weekly OGONEK, revealing that the conference delegates included four criminals (now I can tell you that there were many more than four of them.) It was then that the corrupt party elements launched the offensive against the investigating group and the operation to conceal the evidence. But that criminal action could not be implemented all at once. It was necessary, first, to prepare the public for it. From that moment until now the operation to dismantle the inquiry has progressed in stages. But by so doing, they have caused an even greater conflagration. We had the investigation taken away from us but we scored a moral victory.

[Chiesa] Do you attribute the fact that you were both elected deputies to this "conflagration"?

[Gdlyan] I think not. It was our 6 years' work against the mafia. The voters were able to form an overall judgment.

[Chiesa] In Zelinograd there was a great demonstration of support for you organized by the committee of solidarity with your investigating group....

[Gdlyan] Yes, over 20,000 citizens. But similar committees also exist in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

[Chiesa] Very serious charges against you have appeared in the press. It has been written that you gathered not proof but only prosecution evidence—extorted, moreover, by illegal methods, torture, pressure, violation of terms of remand, and blackmail. And, Telman Khorenovich, you are also accused of arranging the imprisonment and sentencing of the well-known Estonian scientist, Professor Hint, who later died in jail. What is your defense?

[Gdlyan] The charges are unfounded. Their motivation is to be found within the context of a maneuver designed to deprive us of our parliamentary mandate before the Congress of People's Deputies began. Very strong pressures were brought to bear on the group of investigators who worked with us by the bosses of the party apparatus, of the USSR state prosecutor's office, and of the KGB. As far as Hint is concerned, I must say that the supreme court confirmed the guilty sentence three times before the final sentence of rehabilitation was passed—through no coincidence, on the eve of the congress. I have never spoken out about Hint's scientific activity because it lay outside my sphere of responsibility. About his guilt I have never had, and do not have, any doubt. The reappraisal of his trial was a political action, not a judicial one.

[Ivanov] I would like to add that, as a member of the Supreme Soviet committee on legislative and public order affairs, I took part in the examination of the candidate members of the USSR State Prosecutor's Office college. When Shadrin (chief of the criminal trial inspection department—L'UNITA editor's note) was asked for his opinion of the Hint case he replied that the state prosecutor's office was convinced then, and remains convinced now, of Hint's guilt. This confirms that this card was played exclusively for political purposes.

[Gdlyan] Not only Shadrin but the state prosecutor and his deputy, Katusev, also said the same. Now an independent ad hoc committee should be established to form an objective assessment.

[Chiesa] What about the other charges—those concerning the Uzbek investigation?

[Gdlyan] I will give you an example. Not long ago LITERATURNAYA GAZETA published a lengthy article by the well-known journalist, Olga Chaykovskaya, entitled "The Myth." Often in an article the truth is incomplete, mixed with errors and untruths. In this instance we witnessed a rare occurrence: It contained not a single line of truth; it was all false. We challenged her to a public debate, wherever she wanted—on television, in a theater. She did not reply. Why are we here today talking with you and not with a journalists from IZVESTIYA or another Soviet newspaper? Because they will not let us speak. (At this point Gdlyan handed me the text of an interview that he granted to IZVESTIYA, to journalist Sergey Artyukhov, on 20 June and that was never published.)

[Ivanov] I, too, will give you an example. It concerns one of the main charges leveled at us: the duration of periods of remand. Bear in mind that it does not come from experts. For instance, this charge is contained in the interview in PRAVDA 30 April granted by the chairman of the Party Auditing Commission, Comrade Pugo, as it was in the conclusions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium published 20 May. It is astounding that they do not know that the law permits us investigators to keep a defendant in custody for a maximum of 3 days. The extension of the period of arrest to 9 days has to be decided by the state prosecutor and his deputy. Further extensions can only be decided on by means of a special resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Acts of this nature in connection with our investigation carry the sigantures of Chernenko, Gromyko, and Gorbachev. So you can see how foolish and entirely unfounded the charges against us are. However, I would like to add: How could we carry on the investigation if we were prevented for years from apprehending the real organizers of the crime. In Churbanov's case it took over a year of negotiations in order to arrest him. In the case of Usmankhodzhayev (former first secretary of the Uzbek party—L'UNITA editor's note) we had to wait 2 years. We gathered the first evidence against Smirnov (former Moldavian second secretary—L'UNITA editor's note) in 1984, and it took 5 years to bring him to trial.

[Chiesa] What happened to the group of over 200 investigators who worked with you?

[Gdlyan] First, I would like to say what happened to us two. On 6 May we were deprived of leadership of the investigation; on 22 May—after realizing that most of the group's investigators were loyal to our line—they dissolved the group and sent all the officers back to their own offices. For many of them the future is not rosy.

[Chiesa] Did anyone leave their job?

[Gdlyan] In some cases. There were resignations from the prosecutor's office and the police force. Some considered it impossible to continue working under conditions of isolation and pressures. Perhaps you will ask me whether there were any "traitors." There were some "Judases" who betrayed the cause—not for 30 pieces of silver but for the sake of promotion and a quiet life. There were not many, however, and in general they were KGB agents added to the investigating team, but they also included prosecutor's office officials. However, there were no defections by the Interior Ministry investigators.

[Chiesa] Nevertheless you, too, grew up in an environment in which illegality was the norm, where the independence of the judiciary and investigators was virtually a myth. I wonder how you could have reacted against that environment. How the context in which you trained affected you. So I would ask you: When did you realize the need to fight?

[Gdlyan] We felt like foreign bodies, human splinters in the power apparatus. This is why we have now become unacceptable—indeed, hated all the more, because, being part of he apparatus, we undermined it from the inside. The context did not mold us and in fact caused the development of qualities that enabled us to resist. But I cannot agree with you when you say that illegality was the norm within the judicial system. Even during the period of stagnation there were KGB, police, and prosecutor's office officials who could act entirely legally as long as they wanted to preserve their professional and personal dignity. I will give you an illustrious example: former state prosecutor Naydyonov. He succeeded in passing through every stage of his career without becoming tainted. He, too, tried to fight—successfully—against all the shortcomings of our judicial system, and in the end he had to pay for it. Now it is our turn.

[Ivanov] On the whole, I must say that our system has a very dubious legal basis. There are no investigators who have not had to overcome some kind of political obstacle. At first, I noticed these constraints less because I was dealing with homicides, and common crime. The Uzbek experience has opened my eyes. And when we understood, we were absolutely convinced that we should carry on to the end. We were the first, but I think this will make other people's task easier. We eliminated a taboo by starting the series of arrests of party oblast first secretaries, starting with Bukhara leader Karimov. Thus, other investigators also found the courage to do likewise in other investigations.

[Gdlyan] In short, the imperfection of our judicial system boils down to this: That the party apparatus can, at any time, interfere in the activity of the judicial and investigating bodies. We have said for the first time in public: We will not allow this. We will not allow the first secretary of a rayon party committee or even a Central Committee Politburo member to do this. We are at the center of a crucial process—the elimination of illegal activities conducted by the party apparatus. We count for little compared with this question. But we are adhering to our principled position.

[Chiesa] Three questions: How do you view the creation of the congress commission on your case? What decision do you expect it to reach and how soon? What should it decide, in your view?

[Gdlyan] The question is incomplete. First, there are three commissions. I think that the very idea of forming a commission is criminal. The strategy was to exert pressure on the defendants to accuse us and then, on that basis, to cast doubt on our work and set up a commission to "verify" it. The first commission was a party commission. We exposed it as unconstitutional. It was then given the cloak of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. This second commission gave its verdict which was slanderous toward us and illegal concerning its substance. The third commission—comprising people's deputies and formed under pressure from public opinion—has already established that the second commission carried out no "verification." But by that stage 50 percent of the investigations had been demolished. Another 30 percent have been dismantled in the past 6 weeks. Around 20 percent of the work we have done over the past 6 years remains. The commission then stopped work for the vacation and, when it meets again in September, it will tell us that the investigation has been completely destroyed. We cannot accept that the commission's work should be watered down for years. We have asked it to extend the investigation and define the responsibility of Moscow's corrupt officials. The congress conferred these tasks on it, but the commission is not dealing with them.

[Chiesa] It is legally capable but I wonder whether it is technically capable of doing so because it is not composed of investigators.

[Gdlyan] That is true. That is why we immediately sent a letter suggesting that the commission should immediately be equipped with a group of experts—between 30 and 40 independent experts—capable of carrying out the necessary verifications. But this has not been done. The second question which we asked is this: On what legal basis has our group of investigators been stripped of the investigation? If the decision was found to be illegal there must be one conclusion: The investigation would have to be handed back to those who started it. But this request which we made was rejected. The investigation now remains in the hands of those who stand to gain from demolishing it and who are acting on orders from corrupt circles in Moscow and from their protectors in the party. This is proved by the fact that they are gradually releasing the millionaires who we caught red-handed. For instance, they have already released former CPSU Central Committee official Osetrov, former Uzbek Central Committee official Orlov, and Radzhabov, former first secretary of the Samarkand Oblast Committee. He offered to pay back R2 million (around 4.5 billion lire—L'UNITA editor's note), but these so-called investigators did not lift a finger to recover them and so Radzhabov will be able to hide them somewhere else. They will now release others, we know that. They wanted to do so during the congress and the resolution had been drafted (Ivanov specified that it was drafted on the evening of 30 May—L'UNITA editor's note) but they realized that that would have caused too great a scandal. What they did not do then they are now gradually doing. And what can we do? We replied: OK, we are the bad guys, accuse us, it is your right. But how will you return the sacks full of money and stolen gold to the comrades? Will you do it when they leave prison or by post?

[Chiesa] But if the investigation was handed back to you would you be prepared to resume it?

[Gdlyan] That is the most important question. We have said: We are ready and are 100 percent certain that we can reconstruct everything, even now. It would still be possible in August. After that it will be impossible and none of Moscow's corrupt circle will be able to be charged, the evidence will have disappeared.

[Chiesa] However, you have already said that you have sensational documents which are well hidden. According to what you say, the mafia has certainly not been dismantled. Knowing the nature of the Italian mafia, I deduce that you are in danger. If I am not mistaken, the mafia turnover to which you referred is around R100 billion ($160 billion). Are you not afraid? Do you have bodyguards for you and your families?

[Ivanov] We asked the KGB to organize bodyguards 1 year ago. They refused. We were forced to use own resources in some way. We were only give a personal weapon in May last year. Telman Khorenovich was given a Walther pistol with a three-round magazine and I was given another Walther pistol with a larger bore and a seven-round magazine. But when we began to be named as dangerous elements even these were removed from us. Concerning the rest of your question, I wonder: Would it be an advantage to them for something unpleasant to happen to us? There is so much tension in the country, and the political struggle is so fierce that the public would react.

[Chiesa] So what? From what you say, it is perfectly logical to imagine that there are forces who stand to gain from destabilizing the situation in the country. An attack on you would serve the purpose. Do you not think this is true?

[Gdlyan] You have hit the nail on the head. A rumor was spread that in the hotel opposite my house there are two rooms from which the KGB watches over my safety and that of my family day and night. I do not know whether it is true. I do not think it is true. But I did not want to deliberately deny it. If they did it to discourage the mafia, so much the better. But if the mafia and those who are interested in creating chaos knew that we were completely defenseless, there would be a very high risk. It is sad to think that such a big and strong country is not capable of defending those who defend its interests. However, we knew the risks we would encounter, especially when we poked our noses into the Moscow group's affairs.

[Chiesa] Let us talk about the Moscow group. You have already mentioned names in public. But they are names of former leadership members who are now retired: Aliyev, Grishin, Romanov, Solomentsev, Kapitonov, and others. But it is not clear what accusations you are making against them. Were they members of the mafia? Were they the mafia's protectors? What were they? And you refer to others who have not yet retired. Who are they? To what extent has the mafia infection reached the capital?

[Gdlyan] It was not useful to reveal the names from a tactical viewpoint, and from the viewpoint of the efficiency of the investigation and procedural correctness. We would not have done so if we had not been provoked, if an attempt had not been made to turn us into criminals. In addition, we were forced to give names—some names—when it was clear that without pressure from public opinion we would have been unable to make any further progress. We went no further than that and we will not go any further. But even what we did was dictated by the intention to ensure that the law triumphed. At all events, there is no doubt—and there is evidence to prove it—that these names are involved in the investigation.

[Chiesa] But you also accused Ligachev, without saying of what specific thing he was accused....

[Gdlyan] That is not true. We did not accuse Comrade Ligachev or others. We simply said that Ligachev and others are involved in the investigation. We did not talk about criminal responsibility because the court must decide that. We just want the law to be restored and the investigation to be completed. Only then will responsibilities be clear.

[Ivanov] I would like to add that until spring 1988, the investigation proceeded with the greatest secrecy. Only when we were stopped did we decide to come into the open, to ensure that there was pressure from below. I am convinced that we have achieved that objective. Previously, investigations were stopped in a very simple way, behind closed doors. What if an investigator impinged on somebody's private domain? He was accused of violating the rules of the investigation, he was taken off the investigation, the investigation was closed, or it was entrusted to an obliging investigator. Now this is no longer possible. For almost 2 years they have been trying to silence us and they have not succeeded. But I would also like to remind you of something else. At the 27th party congress, Gorbachev gave fairly precise indications. He said that criminal activity in various spheres would not have been able to develop in the provinces if there had been adequate control from the center, by the party. And, speaking about Uzbekistan, he said that comrades from the center had gone there, had seen for themselves, but had not realized what was happening. But now this suggestion must be clearly contested. There can be no doubt that the center knew. The relevant ministers could not have failed to know that the Uzbek cotton vaunted by Rashidov was not reaching the textile factories. And there was a sharp clash on this subject between Kosygin and Rashidov. But the latter won. Why? Because there were forces at the center who benfited greatly from the situation.

[Chiesa] Telman Khorenovich, you have spoken with Gorbachev twice. Those were certainly confidential conversations and I do not know how much you can reveal. Gorbachev certainly has a reforming strategy. But you have raised an enormous problem, which calls the whole party structure into question. Gorbachev may have a different concern: ensuring that this structure is gradually changed, otherwise it will be impossible for him to control the transition process. In other words, he has to depend on a series of compromises. I would like your view on the subject.

[Gdlyan] As a party member, as an investigator, and as an individual, I cannot reveal the content of those talks. I can simply say that we talked about corruption in the country, the structure of political power, and the state of the country's economy. To use diplomatic terminology, I will say that the meeting was constructive and useful: for me and, I hope, for him, too. We will see what comes of it. We all believed in our reformer, that he was and still is the founder of perestroyka. But I would now say—as a deputy and not as an investigator or a party member—that our president's reforming action sometimes seems slow, and less decisive than people would like. The Interregional Group which we have formed is one result of this view.

[Chiesa] Can you describe to me your theory about the Uzbek mafia? Are there other mafias in the USSR with different structures? Roy Medvedev, chairman of the parliamentary commission, maintains that your theory, namely that it is invariably the local party leader who heads the mafia organization, is too simplistic.

Ivanov: There are no thorough studies of the subject. As regards Uzbekistan, we reached the clear conclusion that the state and party structure corresponds exactly to the mafia structure. The chiefs were the party bosses. Similar situations exist in Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan, in the Caucasus, and in some regions of the Ukraine. The danger of these criminal elements lies in the fact that they are interwoven with politics and even with the existing political structures.

[Chiesa] So, if I understand you correctly, the reform of the political system in the USSR is producing subversive political reactions in these circles. In addition, I gather that a kind of infection has spread from the provinces, especially Central Asia, to the center. Do you see a link between the interethnic tensions which have erupted in the south and the subversive attempts against perestroyka?

[Gdlyan] There is no such direct link. The question is more complex. And it is not just an infection spreading from the provinces to the center. You say that all roads lead to Rome. With regard to corruption, I would say that all roads lead to Moscow. Roy Medvedev is wrong: Simply because he is a scholar who has never dealt with such matters. From what I know of the Italian mafia, it seems to me that it can exist and even proliferate independently from the political authorities. I say it "can" exist "even independently," which does not rule out a link with the political system. But our structure is entirely different. In our country, a mafia cannot be formed or exist without support from the political authorities. This is the essential difference. The mafia in our country starts from the top and infects everything underneath. For instance, we seized gold, gems, and money worth R6 million (15 billion lire) from Bukhara Party First Secretary Abduvakhid Karimov. Just think: 120 kg of gold. He was the top party leader in the region. What did he do? He extorted kickbacks from his subordinates. But if you are to give, you must have. And each subordinate did the same to his own subordinates. The power was at the top and the spiral descended from there right down to the last foreman. There was no job, role, function, or privilege for which you did not pay. But Karimov in turn had to give to republic First Secretary Rashidov. However, Karimov and Rashidov would not have been able to rob their people on such a scale—given Soviet conditions, with the existing party controls and given the party with the hypercentralized structure which characterizes our political system—if there had not been definite support from the center. The equation is simple: Rashidov was also paying somebody in a higher position.

[Chiesa] So, you think that the mechanism stems from the very structure of the single party?

[Gdlyan] I will give you an example: the scandal which brought down Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka. He was corrupt, he had been financed by a specific source.

Another example is the Flick scandal in the FRG: That is identical. This is classical corruption—very specific centers of corruption. But it is not systematic or general, and there is no interaction. Let us turn to Italy. In your country, the mafia is composed essentially of criminals, even if there are complex protection links. In our country the real mafia not only has a respectable appearance, it is the political authorities. That is why we suddenly found we were under accusation. It was to prevent us from completing the autopsy of this organism from the bottom to the top. They fear that we will deal the party a blow from which it will not recover. However, we, who are "old Bolsheviks"—I at least have been in the party for 27 years—are convinced that the reverse is true, that only by purification can the party's authority be restored. This is the quintessence of the difference between our viewpoint and that of the Kremlin. They will perhaps succeed in cleaning up the party, but they will do so by breaking the law again and doing irreparable damage to the party's image in the eyes of tens of thousands of citizens. [Gdlyan ends]

On the table of the small office which was now full of smoke there were dozens of color photographs bearing the color stamp of the USSR's prosecutor's office. They were of the seized assets of Yergashev, former Uzbek interior minister. They showed metal boxes found buried in a garden, full of gold coins from Tsar Nicholas II's days. They belonged to Gaipov, former first secretary for Karshi Oblast. They showed the hoard of Khudayverdiyev, the former head of the Uzbek government, hidden at the foot of the wall of a poor dwelling belonging to peasants who lived there to guard it. Others showed further millions and millions of rubles in bundles and loose in small leather cases. And this was just the small change. It was an unbelievable store of riches, but buried underground, as in the old fables of the East.

Justice Ministry Cites Conviction Figures

*PM1608113889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report on press conference at USSR Ministry of Justice: "Stepping Up the Role of the Courts"]

[Text] The incidence of convictions in the country was the subject of a press conference held at the USSR Ministry of Justice 14 August. It was conducted by USSR Minister of Justice V.F. Yakovlev.

According to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs figures, in the 1st 6 months of the year 1,103,000 crimes were recorded, which is 32 percent more than in the same period last year. The number of serious crimes increased—by 40 percent. Some 350,000 crimes remained unsolved.

As the speakers noted, in connection with the growth in the crime rate, the burden on the courts also increased.

It was noted with concern that the prestige of judicial organs is declining. As a result, there have been thousands of applications by people's judges declaring their decision to leave this work or not to run for a further term. And here much depends on the real effects of the Law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR," adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. It makes provision for much that will help to rectify the situation: penalties for interference in judicial activity, a new procedure for appointing and recalling judges, increased wages....

At present, this is the situation: 4,500 courts are currently in operation in the country, with 16,000 judges at all levels working there. Yet states with only one-fourth as many inhabitants have as many judges.

Vorotnikov Visits Enterprises in Kamchatka Oblast

*LD2208204289 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 22 Aug 89*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A report by our correspondent from the land of Kamchatka. [passage omitted] Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov took an interest in issues of everyday life, work and leisure for the workers and experts of (Zarechnyy). [passage omitted] Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov visited a number of other enterprises in Kamchatka Oblast. [video shows Vorotnikov talking to people, scenes on a river and in the settlement. Vorotnikov is shown at a fish factory, examining tins of fish, and on the banks of the River Avacha surrounded by men dressed in grey]

Deputy Minister Discusses Coal Problems

*LD2708144889 Moscow Domestic Service
in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Aug 89*

[Interview with Aleksandr Gavrilovich Korkin, first deputy minister of the coal industry, by correspondent Yuriy Korotkov, date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Today is the professional holiday of the workers of the country's coal industry. A large number of problems have piled up in the industry—they were vividly highlighted by the recent miners' strikes. Our correspondent Yuriy Korotkov asked Aleksandr Gavrilovich Korkin, first deputy minister of the coal industry, what needs to be done to overcome the crisis situation. [Begin recording] [Korotkov] Aleksandr Gavrilovich, what is your view of the situation in the industry as a whole at the moment?

[Korkin] The situation in the industry remains very strained, but to speak in terms of figures and statistics, it has to be said that the industry is functioning stably. Taking the picture from the start of the 5-year plan, the industry today has 56 million tonnes of above-plan coal. This year, despite the events that took place in the industry, we are so far managing to overfulfill the plan, and there is every confidence that this year's plan will be completed successfully. [passage omitted]

[Korotkov] Aleksandr Gavrilovich, it is a holiday today, and I realize that you wouldn't wish to talk about difficulties and problems, but they evidently do exist. Could you say a bit about that?

[Korkin] The difficulties consist in the fact that alongside the existence of internal matters which we don't always tackle effectively and efficiently, one of the main issues today is evidently that of coal supplies to consumers in the quantities and of the quality that should be supplied. The most serious problem is to get the coal despatched—this is because of the limited number of wagons supplied to our regions. The second question is material and technical backup for the industry. Of course, if these matters were tackled more efficiently and fully, this would undoubtedly exert a considerable positive influence on the work of our collectives.

[Korotkov] The miners' strikes caused economic damage. How can one make good the losses?

[Korkin] Any strike does not produce more coal, improve the economy, or raise profits and pay. Thus, in order to improve matters and fulfil the state orders that the coal workers face this year, very strenuous work is required.

[Korotkov] What are the coal supply failures at the moment?

[Korkin] Around 16 million tonnes of coal above the norm are currently lying at coal depots. So if the coal can be taken away, the situation could altogether be improved. Our most serious supply failures of course are to the Minstry of Ferrous Metallurgy—around 1, million tonnes of coking coal. There is a realistic chance of improving this and ensuring stable work in the industry. The point is that all miners' collectives must now draw their conclusions from the July events and seriously get down to despatching the missing coal that resulted—during the strikes 1, million tonnes of coking coal failed to be supplied [passage omitted]. In the 5-year plan we shall be increasing the volume of residential construction by 60 percent, and construction of schools by about 100 percent, and kindergartens by something around that amount. In short, the whole social sphere will increase by about 60 and 80 percent as compared with the last 5-year plan. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nikonov Chairs Meeting on Food Supplies

LD1708094689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 17 Aug 89

[Text] The progress of the fulfillment by party, local soviet, and economic bodies in 29 cities and industrial centers of the country of the decisions of the party and the government on the provision of the population with foodstuffs has been examined at the CPSU Central Committee. The meeting was conducted by Comrade Nikonov. The state of affairs in each of the cities and workers settlements, from which the first secretaries of the city party committees and the chairmen of the city soviets and of the agro-industrial committees of oblasts, krays, and republics were invited, was discussed. Party committees, local soviet bodies, and agro-industrial committees and associations were told to bring into action reserves and potentialities and to improve things in a real way in the food sphere.

Commission Head Views Free Economic Zones

LD1708093989 Novorossiysk MARITIME PRESS SERVICE in Russian 1330 GMT 13 Aug 89

["Vyborg, Nakhodka, Novgorod?"—MARITIME PRESS SERVICE headline]

[Excerpt] One of these Soviet towns will before the end of this year be the center of the first free economic zone in the Soviet Union. This was said by I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR at a press conference in Moscow, the first one held on this subject.

Describing the idea of the Soviet model of a free economic zone, Ivanov said that they must be created and must function in the economy of the USSR as an inalienable part of it, and provide a favorable system of activity not only for foreign firms, but also for Soviet enterprises.

The zones will have an economic status only, but not a political one. Their territory will remain part of the sovereign territory of the USSR. The union and the relevant republican legislation will apply (in these cases, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic). Correctives to it can affect only social and economic issues (for example, hiring and firing). The zone will act as an autonomous and financially autonomous unit. In its relations with the outside market, it will function as a territory open for all types of foreign economic activity with a particularly favorable system for joint entrepreneurship and foreign investments.

The zone's internal economic activity will be conducted primarily in rubles. As an alternative, the zone could have its own foreign currency parallel to the ruble [?which) could be a common one for a number of zones).

It will be mainly the local population who work in the enterprises of the zones, but it will be permissible to bring in people to complete the work force from other regions of the country and (?foreign) states on a contract basis. Economic activity founded on all modern sorts of property will be allowed: [word indistinct] foreign, joint, state, cooperative.

The zone will be administered by a local Soviet of People's Deputies in full accordance with the spirit of the decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. It will form an administration subordinate to it, headed by a general administrator.

As for Novgorod, mentioned in the heading to this commentary, it is an example of the significant difference between the Soviet model of (?free economic) zones and those adopted in other countries. There the zones are small territorial enclaves with a specially favorable regime for the activity of foreign capital alone, with weak links to the national market, and oriented mainly towards export. But in the USSR, the free economic zones can be situated not only in border zones but also deep inside the country, and thereby have significant territorial dimensions. Their (?activity) will be subjected to the solution not so much of foreign economic as of general economic tasks [word indistinct].

The Soviet idea of free economic zones as put forward by I. Ivanov will certainly give new food for the discussion on the establishment of such zones that has been going on for a long time in the Soviet foreign press. (for example, a number of specialists and businessmen have expressed their "pros" and "cons" on a zone in the area of the Saimaa Canal or in another part of Leningrad Oblast). [passage omitted]

By-Elections To Be Held in Three Okrugs 15 Oct

*PM1608105789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Aug 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 2*

[Central Electoral Commission resolution on the election of USSR people's deputies: "On the Holding of Elections for USSR People's Deputies in Certain Electoral Okrugs To Replace Outgoing Deputies"]

[Text] In connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions of 19 July 1989 on the early suspension of the powers of People's Deputies N.P. Laverov, Yu.G. Matveyev, and P.I. Mostovoy, the Central Electoral Commission in accordance with Articles 23 and 62 of the USSR law "On Elections for USSR People's Deputies" resolves:

to hold elections for USSR people's deputies from Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 413 in Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Kalushskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 461 in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's [SSR] Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, and Sokulukskiy National Territorial Electoral Okrug No 342 in the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic on Sunday, 15 October 1989.

[Signed] V. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies
Yu. Ryzhov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies

University Group Calls for Special Congress

*LD2308204989 Moscow World Service in English
0210 GMT 23 Aug 89*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The Communists of Moscow University have suggested that a special congress of the Soviet Communist Party be convened next year. The proposal was put forward at a conference of the university party organization, consisting of more than 8,000 members. [passage omitted]

According to (Dmitriy Klimentev), some concrete suggestions were made at the university party conference:

[(Klimentev) in Russian, fading into English translation] A number of delegations have proposed that a congress should discuss one narrow issue: the order of the formation of the party leading bodies at all levels. The greater part of the participants in the conference, however, is for discussing some general political issues, the situation within the party in and the country. Four years of perstroyka have so far brought little. The social tension is mounting in the country. The reason is that the party and its bodies fail to cope with the problems facing the country and society. We have decided to prepare the draft party rules and work out the basics of its ideological platform. We hope to complete the work in the coming autumn.

[Announcer] So, the university Communists are going to come up with their version of the party rules and its platform. [passage omitted] So, what we deal here with is an unusual precedent when a local party organization has decided to do what was earlier the exclusive prerogative of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, that is to work our new ideology for the party. The university Communists proceed from the assumption that the party locals form the backbone of the party and the party's Central Committee is their mouthpiece. So, the party pyramid, according to them, should be turned over and put on its foundation.

The opinion has been expressed, but will that be shared? The Moscow University Communists have sent their appeal for holding a discussion within the party and convening a special party congress to the party organizations of all the universities in the country.

Typhoon Judy Devastates Soviet Far East

*LD2708121789 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 26 Aug 89*

[Text] The damage done to the Maritime region in the Soviet Far East by the Judy typhoon recently is estimated at over half a billion rubles. Crops were flooded on area of 363,000 hectares, 18 areas were devasted, 4,000 homes were wrecked, thousands of people were evacuated. However, the damage could have been smaller if the local services had been prepared for the natural calamity. Some structures like bridges were not reinforced although devastating floods were common in the region.

Plane Crash in Remote Taiga Area Described

*LD1608235189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 16 Aug 89*

[Text] The passengers and crew of the An-2 aircraft Chita air detachment which met with an accident found themselves in the remote taiga, tens of kilometers away from habitation. The plane was on a flight from Pervomayskiy to (Zolotarechensk). Apart from the two crew members there were also eight passengers aboard. During the flight the commander of the An-2 made a number of mistakes, an emergency arose and the plane had to crash land in the forest at high speed. The crew command and one of the passengers were seriously injured. The rest escaped with slight injuries. Fortunately, there were fodder purchasers from a nearby state farm close by and they lent assistance to the casualties [postradavshchym]. Now, the life of the injured is out of danger.

Statistical Analysis of Rail Accidents Given

18290247 Moscow GUDOK in Russian
1 Aug 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Statistics for Analysis and Reflection: Traffic Safety During the First Half of the Year"]

[Text] In response to numerous reader requests, today we are publishing a summary table of the crashes, breakdowns, and defects which occurred during the first half of the year, with comparisons to the figures for the same period of last year.

Name of Sector	Accidents		Breakdowns	
	1988	1989	1988	1989
Total accidents and breakdowns:	44	23	26	26
Total passenger trains involved	4	2	16	19
Tracks	15	13	10	6
Cars	12	4	4	2
Engines	8	1	3	5
Traffic	1	3	5	9
Container traffic and commercial work	2	1		
Main Administration for Repair of Rolling Stock and Production of Spare Parts	3			1
Signals and communications	1			1
Passenger			2	
Causes:				
Broken rails	8	6	1	
Track and switch disrepair	7	6	10	6
Car wheel disrepair	7	3	1	1
Spontaneous uncoupling of cars	1	2		2
Violation of switching rules		1	4	1
Broken car components	5	1	2	
Broken car components falling onto track	3	1	2	2
Running through restrictive signals	3	1	2	3
Unshielded track work areas		1		
Engine disrepair	1		1	3
Receiving train on occupied line	1			
Overloading cars	2			
Receiving and dispatching trains on unprepared routes				2
Shift of remote-controlled mechanical switch under train				2
Striking motor vehicles			1	2
Other causes	6	1	2	2
By railroads:				
Alma-Ata	3		2	1
Azerbaijan	3		5	1
Belorussian	1			
Baykal-Amur	4			
Gorkiy	2			
Far Eastern			1	
Transbaykal	2	1	2	1
Transcaucasian	3	1	1	2
Western Kazakhstan				1
Western Siberian	4		2	
Eastern Siberian	2			
Kemerovo		1		
Krasnoyarsk	2			1
Kuybyshev	2	3		2
Moscow	2	1	2	2
Moldavia			1	
October	2	3		4
Odessa	1			1
Volga Area	1	1		1
Dnepr Area			1	1
Baltic Area	2	3		2
Northern		1	2	
Central Asian	1	1		1
Northern Caucasus		1	1	3
Sverdlovsk			1	
Southern				1
Southern Urals	2	1	3	
South-Western				1
South-Eastern	2	2	2	

Consequences of accidents and breakdowns	1988	1989
People killed*	6	7
Passengers killed	1	
People wounded	26	4
Passengers wounded	21	2
Cars destroyed	561	213
Cars damaged	349	256
Engines destroyed	6	4

Consequences of accidents and breakdowns	1988	1989
Engines damaged	12	15
Traffic disruptions (in hours)		
Complete disruption	664	325
Single-line disruption	332	178
Work defects, causes:	1988	1989
Receiving on an occupied line	9	4
Dispatching on an occupied open line	5	9
Receiving and dispatching on an unprepared route	27	22
Shift of remote-controlled mechanical switch under train	7	11
Spontaneous uncoupling of cars	41	30
Running through restrictive signals and speed limit markers	75	56
Engine failure	3566	3258
Broken axel journals, axles, and wheels	79	68
Broken sideplates and beams over springs	20	14
Dispatching trains with blocked brake lines	21	21
Breaks in automatic couplings	864	852
Breaks in car ridge beams	35	23
Self-uncoupled automatic couplings	562	517
Jammed car wheels	241	211
Uncoupling of cars from freight trains:		
due to overheated bearings	1766	1341
due to equipment disrepair	2332	2113
Uncoupling of cars from passenger trains:		
due to equipment disrepair	94	92
Unshielded track work areas	41	49
Striking motor vehicles:		
at protected crossings	68	61
at unprotected crossings	334	299
Disrepair of signalization, centralization, and block system structures and signals resulting in traffic disruptions of more than 30 minutes	94	98
Failure of the traction-power supply system resulting in traffic disruptions of more than 30 minutes	442	392
Collisions of rolling stock:		
Total	1016	926
Derailment of rolling stock	4066	3892
when included in trains	275	238

* *Information on victims is given at the moment of breakdown or accident which resulted from railroad worker error.*

New CPSU Paper To Be Published 'Next Year'

LD2508175389 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The first issue of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA (The Workers' Tribune), a newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, will come out on January 2, 1990.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA is being created on the basis of the newspapers SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and STROITELNAYA GAZETA. The newspaper will give broad coverage of the life of Soviet working class, its decisive role in contemporary Soviet society and in running the affairs of state.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will actively contribute to consolidating the efforts of the working people and all Soviet ethnic groups in their struggle for restructuring. The newspaper will carry regular reports of its parliamentary observers on the work of people's deputies of all levels, as well as of local soviets, the congresses of people's deputies and sessions of the supreme soviets of the USSR and union republics.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA will write about the life of workers and working people in foreign countries. It will also cover arms cuts and disarmament issues, the conversion of the military industry and international economic ties.

Minority Language Study Organized in Moscow

LD2508171989 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Roman Grigoryev:

Ten languages of Soviet peoples will be studied at Moscow's schools in the new school year. Forty courses for children of any nationality are to open in September. They will study the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Tatar, Yiddish and other languages. The studies will be optional to be attended after school hours. Tuition is free of charge.

There are many problems in organising the courses, specialists of the city public education committee believe. There is a shortage of special textbooks intended for Russian-speaking children, there is a lack of skilled teachers of some languages. Union and autonomous republics are expected to give assistance in that questions.

In Moscow, with its nine million-strong population, there are representatives of about 100 nationalities. Some of them, for instance Ukrainians, Jews, Tatars run into hundreds of thousands. Naturally, many of them want their children to know the native language.

Courses are only part of the work to give non-Russians, residing in Moscow, greater possibilities to meet their cultural requirements. Special attention is being paid to establishing national culture clubs. Ukrainian, Belorussian, Jewish, Tatar, Armenian and Tajik national-cultural societies and cultural centres have been formed in Moscow in the recent years.

The charters of these organisations say that they are ready to accept people of any nationality, all who show interest in that or other national culture or language.

The national societies and centres in Moscow are assisted in their activities by the Moscow soviet's deputy commission for inter-ethnic relations.

Solzhenitsin Novel To Be Published in Leningrad

LD2508153789 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Leningrad August 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov:

Aleksandr Solzhenitsin's historical narrative "March, 1917," belonging to his cycle "Red Wheel," will be published for the first time in the Soviet Union by the Leningrad-based journal "NEVA". Editor-in-chief Boris Nikolskiy told TASS that the first chapters are now being prepared for the press and the publication will begin in 1990.

"We contacted the author at the beginning of 1989 and obtained his approval to publish this novel, because of its close association with the city of Petrograd, later renamed Leningrad, and in accord with the editorial policy and artistic standards of the journal," Nikolskiy said.

Given the present interest in the past and the desire to search answers to present problems, "March, 1917" reads as a most topical work, the editor added.

The NEVA journal, a literary and socio-political monthly, has won great popularity among Soviet readers with its publication of "unorthodox" fiction, essays by economists and sociologists devoted to the most pressing issues of the day, and polemics in its "alternative" rubric.

Vladimir Dudintsev's "Robed in White" started the breakthrough as it told the story of the dramatic crackdown on the science of genetics under Stalin. Readers were also captivated by the Brothers Strugatskys' sci-fi story "The City of the Doomed," Anatoliy Zlobin's satirical "Dismantling" (in the journal's latest issue), and "The Notes on Anna Akhmatova" by Lydya Chukovskaya, a literary critic who was peresecuted in the not-too-distant past. The NEVA journal does not confine itself to publications of works by Soviet authors. Arthur Koestler's novel "A Darkness at Noon" and Robert Conquest's book "Great Terror" raised a few eyebrows in their criticism of the past.

The editors have made it a rule to offer readers works that do not merely reflect reality but actively involve the reader in the process of thinking out the issues they deal with. That the readers appreciate the approach is proved by the fact that the journal's circulation has nearly doubled in the past two to three years. Its print-run now amounts to nearly 700,000.

Church in Ivanovo Returned to 'Believers'

PM1608114589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Mikhail Ovcharov report: "The Return of the Red Church"]

[Text] Everyone is talking about an event which took place in the city of Ivanovo, our correspondent Mikhail Ovcharov reports: The Church of the Presentation (commonly known as the Red Church) is at last being returned to the believers by a resolution adopted by the oblast soviet of people's deputies executive committee [ispolkom].

It was because of this very church that passions flared in the early spring. The city and oblast soviet ispolkoms refused to give it back to the believers. As a sign of protest four women—representatives of a new religious society of Orthodox Christians (a dentist, a philologist, a cleaner, and a lawyer)—started a hunger strike in full view of the whole city in the open air (it was March) near the church, displaying a placard saying "We are prepared to die on the land of the first soviets." Admittedly a few days later they were taken to hospital and ended their hunger strike, but the question of the church remained unresolved.

And now the oblast soviet ispolkom, to its credit, has returned to this complicated matter anyway and resolved it positively, for the benefit of the believers. I am speaking in general terms, for the resolution contains a number of stipulations. Thus the Museum of Regional Studies will mount an exhibition in the church's outbuildings (the clergy's house). The church will be visited by tourists. Finally, for some reason the ispolkom is forbidding burial services in this church.

Contents of KOMMUNIST Issue No 12 Listed

PM1608114089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] The 12th issue of the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal KOMMUNIST has been published.

The problems of perestroyka in the CPSU's work are today at the center of attention among Communists and nonparty people, and are prompting animated debates in party organizations and labor collectives. The editorial office receives many letters expressing concern about the CPSU's authority and trying to interpret its new functions in society and methods and style of work. The issue opens with a selection of materials on perestroyka in the party, inviting readers to participate in a discussion rubric "Renewal of Society—Renewal of the Party."

The section "Perestroyka: Theory and Experience" includes A. Bondarev's article "Foreign Economic

Mechanism—Unresolved Problems" and O. Latsis' commentary "Running Out of Time," examining the recent strikes.

There is also a conversation among a group of sociologists from Moscow and Leningrad, "Social Choice. Changes in Social Psychology as Reflected in Sociopolitical Debates in 1989." Minister K. Katushev's response to an article on food imports is published, as well as a commentary by writer V. Travkin, "The Path to Oneself."

The rubric "Society's Spiritual Life" is represented by S. Freylikh's article "Lessons of a Banned Picture."

V. Andreyev's article "On the Republics' Economic Autonomy" is published in preparation for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the USSR.

Readers' letters and reactions to items in the journal are collected under the rubric "Public Opinion."

An article by V. Kiseleva, T. Kuznetsova, L. Mindel, and A. Fonotov, "'Scientific Criteria' or the Twilight of Delusion?", is published.

The section "Pages From History" includes G. Volkov's article "Furious Rebel," devoted to the 175th anniversary of M.A. Bakunin's birth, and an item "August 1939. Lessons of the Past."

An article by C. Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, "Turning Point in the Romanian People's History," and an article by N. Maslennikov, "A Chance for Europe," are published, as well as materials from an international seminar on the centennial of the Second International and critical and bibliographical notes.

Agricultural

Nikonov Visits Farms in Penza Oblast

LD2608174389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Comrade Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has paid a 2-day working visit to Penza Oblast. He began his study of the arable and livestock farms of the oblast with an inspection of the corn plantations of the Ordymskiy Sovkhoz. This farm has become an all-Russian school for cultivating corn for fodder. Expressed in terms of fodder units, 60-65 quintals are obtained from a hectare here.

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov also visited the Divtevskiy Sovkhoz where, 2 years ago, a major livestock complex for fattening and rearing young cattle was commissioned. It now contains 16,000 animals. The CPSU Central Committee secretary viewed the enterprise, where mechanization and automation have been applied as widely as possible.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, Comrade Nikonov said that at the Yelandskiy Sovkhoz we inspected a new cheesemaking work shop. This workshop was assembled and put into operation in 3 months. Its productivity is 500kg of output per day. Such a small enterprise is economically extremely profitable. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are some 50-70 km from the milk factories by 50-70 km, so they have to use the local raw material resources more rationally, and possessing 200-300 cows, the farms can give good output on a lease basis. The task of creating a minimum of 2,000 such workshops within 2 years confronts the country.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary met with the leaders of a number party, state, and agro-industrial bodies of the mid and lower Volga Valley. Issues concerning the organization of equipment for small cheese plants and the intensified introduction of projects for the production of this foodstuff were discussed in a specific and businesslike manner.

Further on Nikonov Visit

LD2608224489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] This is the sort of maize you can now find at the (Ordynskiy) state farm, near Penza. And the point isn't in the height of the stems. Grown by industrial technology, it contains in its grains precisely the energy that makes it possible to obtain more milk and meat. But, as was noted by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, hundreds of farms are still a long way from this, and the yield of the soil is to a large extent held back to machinery, or its absence. For indusitral technology requires particular machines, both from sowing and from harvesting.

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov familiarized himself with the work of the special mixed feed and regenerated milk factory. There are as yet only four such enterprises in the country. Many more are needed, and in the near future it is essential to supplement the conventional mixed feed factories with analagous machinery. Today, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov looked around the new plant for the production of cheese at (Yalanskiy) state farm. [video shows Nikonov inspecting corn fields and feeds factories, then moves to following interview]

[Begin Nikonov recording] We have a great many conversations on the need for a most speedy resolution of the food program. We call this task a nationwide one, and all our strength must be concentrated on this task, but words are at variance with deeds, and, unfortunately, with respect to many products that are extremely essential. Today, together with the comrades working in the agroindustrial complex of the middle and lower Volga region, at the Yalanskiy state farm, we are looking at a cheesemaking plant which was launched in 3 months. It produces 500 kilograms of cheese daily. Well, the work is only just beginning, and it's 300 kilograms. Why have they embarked on such small plants? On all sides, this is extremely advantageous in economic terms. It is a rational use of raw material resources. All of the distant collective and state farms, 50-70 km from the dairy works, can have 200-300 cows on leasehold terms, and such small plants can yield good output. In the space of 2 years the country is faced with the task of making a minimum of 2,000 such plants, and moreover, to add to the million tonnes of cheeses which we are producing another million, and reach the norm of 6 kilograms of cheese annually per head of population. But for the moment, this work is only getting under way. [end recording]

Gossnab Meeting Considers Farm Support

18240227 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Aug 89 p 2

[TASS article: "Daily Attention for the Agrarian Sector"]

[Text] An enlarged meeting of the collegium of the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] was held on 8 August at which questions were examined regarding the supply of material resources and fuel for harvest-time work, the delivery of equipment for starting facilities for the processing and storage of agricultural products and sugar refineries, and also questions of selling material resources and spare parts to the agroindustrial complex.

Taking part in the work of the collegium were the chairmen of union republic Gossnabs, chiefs of the main territorial administrations of kray and oblast Gossnabs, deputy chairmen of the Gosagroproms [State Agroindustrial Committee] of the union republics, and managers of ministries, departments, and large enterprises that produce equipment for the agrarian sector.

It was noted at the collegium meeting that this year the European part of the country had a rather good harvest, and that the state assigned substantial material-technical resources for its gathering. However, because of irregular deliveries of different types of equipment, the farms continue to experience a critical need for harvesting equipment, transport systems, spare parts, batteries, and trucks.

In the first half year alone the enterprises of the USSR Minavtoselkhozmash [Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building] failed to deliver almost 9,000 tractors, about 1,000 feed-harvesting combines, other equipment, and also a large amount of spare parts.

Serious interruptions in harvesting work are caused by irregular deliveries of fuel. One of the reasons for this is the tardy delivery of the necessary number of tank cars by the railroad workers.

Concern is caused by the fact that the level of preparation of the sugar refineries this year is lower than last year. Capital and current repairs of enterprises of the industry are behind the planned schedule. At the same time a number of ministries have still not even signed a contract on assigned quotas for the supply of production lines, refrigerator cars, cable duct lines, and other products.

Summing up the results of the work of the collegium, P.I. Mostovoy, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of USSR Gossnab, directed the attention of the managers of ministries and departments and supply organs to their personal responsibility for the full material support of harvesting work, and the preservation and processing of the harvest, and he instructed them in a 10-day period to look into the complete equipping of sugar refineries and the processing industry, and to ensure the conclusion of an agreement up to the limits of the quotas assigned.

Particular attention was given to increasing the production of refrigeration equipment, pumps, and spare parts. Instructions were given immediately to dispatch fuel to APK [agro-industrial complex] consumers regardless of the volume of available resources.

G.S. Otryzkin, deputy supervisor of the agrarian department of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the collegium.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2037' Satellite Launched 28 Aug

LD2808095889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 August (TASS)—Another artificial Earth satellite, "Cosmos-2037," was launched in the Soviet Union today by the "Tsiklon" carrier rocket.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 116.1 minutes; apogee, 1537 km; perigee, 1503 km; orbital inclination, 73.6 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data from the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing incoming information.

Weekly Urges Redistribution of Space Budget

LD2508111989 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The Soviet Union has allocated 6.9 billion roubles for its space program this year, including 1.7 billion roubles invested in projects with economic applications and 3.9 billion in the military space program, the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (Arguments And Facts) reports today.

It says that the space shuttle Buran has cost the country 1.3 billion roubles.

The weekly points out for comparison that the United States has earmarked 29.6 billion dollars for space efforts this year, including three billion dollars for economic and scientific projects and 22.8 billion for the military space program.

The U.S. shuttle program absorbs another three billion dollars.

The weekly suggests a rational redistribution of "space funds" in favour of the economy, shifting emphasis from costly long-term projects to meeting current industrial, agricultural and scientific needs.

Mission Chief Describes 'Progress-M'

LD2508182189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Interview with Pilot-Cosmonaut V.A. Solovyev, in charge of the "Progress-M" space mission, by correspondent German Sedov; time and place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Sedov] Vladimir Alekseyevich, the ["Progress-M"] cargo ship is new. Perhaps you will tell us about it in a bit more detail? [video shows diagram of craft]

[Solovyev] The approach system for docking is more modern and powerful. The system for orientating and controlling the movement of this ship is more modern. It is partly borrowed from the "Soyuz-TM" ship. That ship is manned, this one isn't. It has a more modern engine installation. On the "Progress" ships we traditionally carry fuel and take, on the whole, quite a large amount—in the order of 800 kilograms of fuel. And this system of refuelling supplies fuel to the "Mir" station so that it can then maneuver itself with its engines successfully. Formerly, the engine installation on the Progress cargo ship, let's be frank, did not consume the fuel economically. Great reserves remained and these reserves were, on the whole, burned up uneconomically when the ship landed, or rather while it was descending. Now there is the possibility of putting all the fuel that has not been consumed onto the "Mir" station, so that, as it were, all this fuel is put to some use. Yes, so that it stays there.

Capacities of 'Progress-M' Cargo Craft Described

LD2508214189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 25 August broadcasts a report by special correspondent Vladimir Besyayev from the flight control center directing the docking of the "Progress-M" automatic cargo spacecraft with the "Mir" orbital complex. He interviews Doctor of Technical Sciences (Leonid Alekseyevich Gorshkov), head of the Energy Department and one of the creators of the new "Progress-M" spacecraft. (Gorshkov) notes that this is the first time a "Progress-M" craft has arrived at the orbital station. The "Progress-M" is in the same class as the "Progress" spacecraft, but with improvements, such as additional solar batteries. The main advantage of the new ship is that it can fly independently for up to 30 days, or in conjunction with a space station for up to 108 days. The advantage of the Course docking system is that the station does not have to expend fuel on maneuvering. In addition, the new ship's cargo area is approximately 1 cubic meter larger.

[Bezyayev] Well, I think we should also discuss the returnable apparatus and other things because "Progress" begins with the order number six. "Progress-M6" should already contribute its bit to the return of objects to Earth. Explain how that will happen.

[Gorshkov] "Well, you are correct. This is, undoubtedly, a new characteristic, the advent of a returnable capsule. It is indeed, just this that has been introduced on these new machines. Until now, and at present while there are now capsules, we could only get the results of scientific investigations back from a station on crafts together with a crew. That represents limited opportunities, in terms of both volume and time. We can then only...[changes thought] when we get a crew back from orbit.

"We can stow film, stow new materials in an automatic capsule which will be received by technological units, and it descends automatically, together with "Progress", "Progress" brakes, and then, at a certain zone, the "Progress" capsule shoots itself off. "Progress" burns up (?in its dense atmosphere), while the capsule returns to Earth, to the testing ground where we extract these materials.

[Bezyayev] "Now the docking should take place. There it is. Fine. There is contact. I congratulate you.

[Gorshkov] "Thank You."

Press Views Consequences, Lessons of Chelyabinsk

LD2508163789 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—The newspaper PRAVDA and the weekly ARGUMENTS AND FACTS publish materials today devoted to the aftermaths and lessons of the atomic disaster which occurred in the Urals on September 29, 1957. The newspaper publishes reminiscences of people who witnessed the events, while the weekly carries the reply of Lev Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the interpellation of people's deputies of the USSR on the Urals tragedy.

The first industrial centre to produce plutonium for nuclear weapons was set up after the war in Chelyabinski region. The processing of liquid radioactive wastes was poorly organised there. First they were dumped into an open reservoir and then into Lake Karachai, which happened to be within the territory of the military complex. Concrete reservoirs were subsequently built for them. But there was no proper control over their storage, Lev Ryabev says. Heating of chemicals materials, lying there together with radioactive elements, produced an explosion. Nobody perished. But two million curies of radioactivity were ejected. For the sake of comparison it is pertinent to say that 50 million curies were discharged at Chernobyl. The cloud, formed by the explosion, moved 105 kilometres towards the north of Chelyabinsk region. It was 6-8 kilometres wide. This caused the contamination of a territory inhabited by 17 thousand people. They were all resettled.

PRAVDA notes that although specialists had no sufficient experience then in dealing with such accidents, efforts to eliminate the explosion aftereffects were very well organised and efficient. "Radiation doses received by people during the liquidation efforts", one of the eyewitnesses said, "were controlled most strictly and therefore nobody was exposed to any senseless risk".

The accident that occurred at Chernobyl three decades later showed that the lessons of the Urals tragedy were not sufficiently learned. After the explosion at the atomic power plant very few people knew what should be done. If we had to pay for our lack of knowledge during the Urals tragedy, the newspaper says, it was "outright ignorance and negligence" at Chernobyl.

Another participant of the Urals events notes that the state had shown much concern for those who were compelled to leave their native places and stinted new spendings. New housing estates were put up, compensation was paid out and medical check-ups were carried out.

Nevertheless, there is still a nuclear trace in the Urals. In his reply to the parliamentary interpellation Lev Ryabev said: "Today our main concern is to 'bury' Lake Karachai. This will take approximately 3-4 years and will cost 60 million roubles. Another 3-4 years will be needed to put in proper order certain surrounding areas. Eighty percent of the lands within the radioactive zone have already been made available for economic usage. There are 16 thousand hectares left to deal with. About 2-3 thousand hectares will probably be decontaminated within the next year or two. Therefore 5-7 years will be needed for the complete liquidation of the disaster consequences".

Antarctic Activities, Plans Summarized

LD2608030189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Work is proceeding normally today at Soviet Antarctic stations. Planned observations and studies are being carried out and the economic plan is being executed. Molodezhnaya station has reported that two bulldozers have been clearing roads and the airstrip at Gora Vechernyaya is being rolled. Aeroflot planes will start to arrive in September. The first to arrive will be an Il-18D which will work there until November, carrying out aerogeophysical photography in the Gamburtsev Mountains and around the Molodezhnaya meterological center and the New Lazarev station.

At the end of September a heavy Il-76TD airplane will leave for the extreme southern latitudes with polar explorers of the 31st Soviet Antarctic expedition. The route is the traditional one: through Maputo in Mozambique. There are six planned flights.

The flagship of the USSR Antarctic Fleet, the scientific expeditionary icebreaker Akademik Fedorov will not depart from Leningrad to supply the new expedition until the end of December or beginning of January. The Baltic vessel's late departure is caused by her participation in an international expedition to study the hard-to-reach South Polar Weddell Sea. That expedition is jointly organized by the Leningrad Arctic and Antarctic Institute and the FRG. The FRG icebreaker Polarstern will also take part in that voyage.

At the (Vostok) station, situated 3,600 meters above sea level where temperatures are -53 to -64 degrees, the drilling of a bore hole continues.

In recent days the workers at the New Lazarev station celebrated the 43d anniversary of Indian independence during a visit to the Indian Antarctic station Maitri.

Work on Lasers for Military Purposes Stopped

LD2708120689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Soviet scientists have stopped work on developing super powerful lasers for military purposes. That has been stated (Vyacheslav Tismoni), head of the branch of the Institute of Nuclear Energy. A gas laser with a capacity of one megawatt, made in the Soviet Union, is now used only for the needs of research. (?Vyacheslav Tismoni) told that to a group of American Congressmen and experts who visited the research center—to which admission was only recently restricted. Neither would the unique laser be used for experiments in space. The Soviet scientist expressed interest in cooperation with American specialists in the fields which up to now were on the secret list.

Military

Baklanov Discusses Defense Restructuring

LD2508161689 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS—"Regearing of defence enterprises to the production of consumer goods is not merely a redistribution of production capacities and resources among sectors of the national economy, but a thorough restructuring of the entire Soviet economy." Oleg

Baklanov, secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, says in the "GOVERNMENT HERALD." The essential purpose of these shifts, he explains, is to accelerate scientific-technological progress, raise labour productivity, make people more interested in the end results of their work, to solve social problems.

A special defence industry restructuring programme is being drawn up to dovetail these efforts and provide an efficient approach to the problems in hand. The share of civilian production in the overall output of defence enterprises now exceeds forty per cent. The defence complex annually turns out five billion roubles worth of computing equipment, 3.3 billion roubles worth of technological equipment for the light and processing industries, for commercial and public catering establishments. It accounts for over a quarter of all the manufactured consumer goods turned out in the country.

According to the secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, it is planned to increase or launch anew the production of fifteen important lines of civilian goods at defence enterprises. The output of consumer goods will be increased, including those which the defence complex had not turned out before. This includes cars and automobile accessories, complex household radio-electronic equipment, a wide range of electrical goods and household chemicals.

As to the decommissioned military hardware, armour included, it will be used, and is, as a matter of fact, already being used, in road building, quarrying, mining and land improvement jobs.